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REVIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTS

Objected to the first VOLUME of the

History of the Puritans,

By the AUTHOR of the

Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and
Worship, of the Church of *England*, esta-
blished in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

— *Nimium ne crede colori.* VIRO.

L O N D O N :

Printed for RICHARD HETT, at the Bible and Crown
in the Poultry. M.DCC.XXXIV.

Price One shilling.

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Vol. I.

— William the Conqueror.

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REVIEWS
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PURITANS.

MY Design in writing the *History of the Puritans*, was not to defend their Doctrine or Discipline, but to set their Principles in a fair Light, with their own Arguments in defence of them: This I have done in the best Manner I could, without reflecting on the present Times, or giving just Occasion of Offence to moderate Men of any Persuasion. The *Remarks* which are interspersed through the History, are the only Paragraphs that are Mr. N's, and for the Justness of which he is accountable. Matters of Fact are of a different Nature, and must stand or fall according to the Authority by which they are supported. "'Tis natural for a Protestant to wish (says the Author of the Vindication) that a Veil might be drawn over the Scene that was acted in those Times, and that the Offences of all Parties might be buried in Oblivion;" but if a

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Judg-

Judgment may be formed from the thankful Acknowledgments Mr. N. has received from moderate Protestants of all Persuasions, such a Performance as this has been very much wanted, and may be of great Service; besides, are not the Facts already upon Record in the Writings of the several Parties? Have not the PAPISTS published the History of their Sufferings by the *English Reformers*? And Dr. Heylin, Fuller, Bishop Burnet, Collier, Strype, &c. all Clergymen of the Church of *England*, recorded the Persecution of the Protestants in the Reigns of King HENRY VIII. and Queen MARY? Why then should it be criminal for the Puritans, or any of the Friends of Liberty to tell their Story? Let all Parties be heard, and the World judge how far each have contributed to the Wounds of the Church which are still bleeding; this were done with Christian Temper and Moderation, instead of exasperating the Minds of Men, would certainly promote mutual Forbearance, and more generous Sentiments among Christians, which was Mr. N's chief Design in entering upon so laborious an Undertaking.

But it seems, the Progress of this Work has unhappily given Uneasiness to some of the Reverend Clergy of the established Church, who have expressed their Displeasure against the Author, first in short expostulatory Letters; and since in a large Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship, of the Church of England, established in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH; which Mr. N. not being conscious of having cast any injurious Reflections upon the Church of England, would have passed over in silence, had not the Manner of the Performance made it necessary to do some Justice to himself and his History; in composing of which, he will venture to assure the World, he had a watchful Eye over his Passions, and took the best Care he could of his Language and Expression: But the Author of the *Vindication* is resolved to be angry with every Thing Mr. N. has wrote; there is not a Page

that pleases him, nor a Paragraph throughout the whole Performance, on which he can cast a favourable Eye; however, he was certainly unacquainted with the Historian's Principles, when he affirmed, *That not content with a Toleration to those that respectively differ from the Establishment, he is for introducing the GENEVA PLAN, or something like it, through the united Kingdoms of England and Scotland.* On the contrary, Mr. N. can assure this Writer, and his Brethren of the Clergy, that not one in Twenty of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers would be for introducing the Geneva Plan, or any Thing like it, if it were in their Power: Nor would they be pleased with an Establishment of any kind, without an universal Toleration, of all peaceable and loyal Subjects in the Enjoyment of their Religious Rights and Privileges.

The most candid Writers of Controversy, in the Warmth of Debate, have been guilty of some Sallies of Passion, which the Generosity of an Adversary would overlook; but was it like a Christian or a Scholar, to dress up Mr. N. in the Habit of a Puritan, and then for above two Hundred Pages together, to assault him from behind the Curtain with the opprobrious Characters of a rigid Calvinist, a Disciplinary, a Man of a narrow Spirit? &c. Must an Historian be accountable for the Justness of *their* Principles whose History he writes? Or, because he sets their Arguments in a proper Light, must he make them his own? But that which touches an honest Mind more sensibly, is to be accused not only of involuntary Mistakes, but of wicked and wilful corrupting the Truth of History to serve a Design, and of taking such Pains to represent the Church of England as founded in Violence and Bloodshed; its Constitution contrary to the Word of God, and invading Christian Liberty. God forgive this Writer! Where has Mr. N. said, that the Church of England was founded in Bloodshed, &c. Surely, a Gentleman that takes these Liberties should appear before the World, and put his Name to the

Charge. Mr. N. is sensible of the Difficulties of perfecting a religious Establishment at once, and of securing it afterwards, without intrenching upon the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, which was the Case of the *English* Reformation; and though the Defects of the Hierarchy may be in part excused from the Necessity of the Times, they ought not to be wholly justified, but frankly confessed, and the Hardships removed, as soon as an Opportunity offers; this Mr. N. acknowledges has been attempted several Times, and might have been done more effectually at the late glorious Revolution. But it seems there is a Plot against the Church, a *Design to introduce the Geneva Plan upon the Ruins of the present Establishment*. Is this Writer then in the Secret? Or has he a Key into the Heart of his Adversary? When Men make such Discoveries, as must necessarily affect the Reputation and Good-Name of others, they should be very secure of their Evidence, especially when they are unwilling to appear in open View, and support it with the Authority of their own great Names; but Mr. N. not being acquainted with the Plot, must leave the Gentleman to dress it up after his own Fashion, and make what Inferences from it he pleases.

Mem.
Cran. Appendix,
p. 253.

“The Commission of Errors in writing any History of Times past (says the ingenious Mr. *Whiston*, in his Letter to Mr. *Strype*) being altogether unavoidable, ought not to detract from the Credit of the History, or the Merits of the Historian, unless it be accompanied with immoderate Opposition, or unhandsome Reflections on the Errors of others.” And although that Gentleman has filled almost three Sheets of Paper with the Errors of Mr. *Strype*, in his single Volume of *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, and suspects there may be many more; yet no Man will venture to say, that his *Memorials* are useless, or not deserving the Commendations of Posterity; nor would Mr. N. have complained only the

of the Scrutiny this Writer and his Friends have made into his History, had they done it with Temper, and only with a Design to correct those Mistakes, which in so long a Work, it was almost impossible to avoid. Upon a careful Review of the History it appears, that there are several Errors of the Press, and some Oversights of the Author, which, together with some Marginal Additions, for the Satisfaction of the more inquisitive Readers, are thrown together at the End of these Papers; but it will be no less evident to all disinterested Judges, that the chief Objections of this Writer, are either Mistakes of his own, or of no Consequence to the Credit of the History. The principal Facts are uncontested, and must be so as long as there are any Records of those Times remaining.

Our Author is pleased to pour great Contempt on Mr. N's *Manuscript Collection of original Papers*, because it brings to Light some of those unjustifiable Severities, which the Historians of those Times had omitted; but its Authority shall be left with the Reader, after he is acquainted, that it was collected many Years ago, at the Expence of the Reverend Mr. *Humphry Morrice*, some Time Chaplain to Denmark Lord *Hollis*, who employed an *Amanuensis* in the University of *Cambridge* for this purpose, whose Name he could mention if it were proper; but it is sufficient to say, that at the Foot of most of the Papers, there are References to the Places from whence they were copied; and the industrious Mr. *Strype* was so well satisfied of the Authority of this MS. that at his own Request he was permitted to transcribe from it several of those Papers which are among his RECORDS. We shall now attend our Author through his principal Facts, without attempting to lay open all his Mistakes, or entering any farther into the Controversy, than is necessary to my own Defence; for it must always be remembered, that Mr. N. is not the *Defender of the Government, Doctrine and Worship of the Puritans*, but only their Historian.

Vindic.
p. 190.

C H A P. I.

Of the Religious
Character
of Queen
Elizabeth.
Vindic.
p. 13.

THE first Charge against Mr. N. is, that "by his Account of the great and illustrious Queen ELIZABETH, it must be thought HER HEART WAS ENTIRELY POPISH." To support this Conclusion, our Author produces the following Passages, out of the History, [p. 337.] "*Though the Papists were the Queen's most dangerous Enemies, HER MAJESTY HAD A PECULIAR TENDERNESS FOR THEM.*" How groundless this Accusation is (says he) will soon appear to her Honour; and if it be to the Shame of her Accusers they must thank themselves. But let him first refute the Authorities in the Margin; with those which Mr. N. will now beg leave to add in Confirmation of the Fact. "The Queen was strangely secure of her worst Enemies, the Papists (says Mr. Strype, under the Year 1572.) and showed them much Favour, having many Friends at Court; the Government neutral; the Queen's best Protestant Subjects but little regarded —" Archbishop PARKER, in his Letter to the Treasurer Burleigh calls the Queen's Government a *Machiavelian Government*; and adds, that "*the Papists were as soon favoured as the true Protestants*; that the true Subject was not regarded but overthwarted; whereas the Rebel [meaning the Papist] was born with. When the faithful Subject and Officer (saith he) has spent his Wits to search, to find, to indict, to arraign and condemn, yet must they be kept still for a fair Day to cut our own Throats — Is this the Way to rule English People? But it deserves to be counted Clemency! Oh Cruelty (saith he) to spare a profest Enemy, and to drive to the Slaughter her self and her best Friends."

L. Parker, "How many Papists (says Whittingham Dean of Durham) enjoy Liberty and Livings, which nei-

whether have sworn Obedience to the Queen's Majesty, nor do any Part of Duty towards their miserable Flocks; these *Misers* laugh to see us [Puritans] so dealt with, and hope to see other Alterations." Mr. *Styke* adds, "That notwithstanding *Styke's* giving their [the Papists] bold and exorbitant Practices, they received a notable Piece of Favour at *Ann. V.I. P. 622.* this Time [1578.] to gain them, if possible, to be better minded, and to behave themselves quietly, and that was, That the Queen would not have any of their Consciences sifted, to know what Affection they had to the old Religion." Surely this was peculiar Tenderness?

The next Passage which our Author produces, is [p. 255.] where Mr. N. says, "One would have thought these formidable Conspiracies of the Roman Catholics should have alienated the Queen's Heart from them." This Writer often complains of Mr. N's imperfect Quotations, and is pleased sometimes to dictate in a very sovereign Manner, what we should have added, or left out. But Mr. N. might here, and in many other Places, return him his Compliment. The Case before us is this; having mentioned a general Confederacy of all the Popish Powers of Europe to extirpate the Protestant Religion; and the Insolence of the English Papists, that were roused in Arms in the North, at the Instigation of the Pope, who had excommunicated the Queen and the whole Kingdom, absolved her Subjects from their Allegiance, and called her Majesty an Usurper, and Vassal of Iniquity; I add, one would have thought these formidable Conspiracies of the Roman Catholics should have alienated the Queen's Heart from them. Here our Author stops; but it follows, and prevailed with her, to yield something for the Sake of a firmer Union among Protestants; but instead of this, the Edge of the Laws that were made against Popish Recusants was turned against Protestant Nonconformists.

Can any Reader collect the Sense of this Passage from this Writer's imperfect Quotation, or reasonably conclude from the true Meaning of it; that *her Majesty's Heart was entirely Popish*? However, since the Facts are undeniable, Mr. N. will leave the Justness of the Remark to the Reader, with this additional Observation from Mr. *Strype*, that "The great Labour of the Court about this Time, was to open the Queen's Eyes, and to make her apprehend her Danger from the Papists, and that she might command the Law against them to be put in Execution; for the Papists had secret Fautors within the Palace Walls — *but her Majesty was void of all Fear of any Harm from Papists*."

L. Parker,
P 353,
354.

The last Proof of the Charge against Mr. N. is taken from her Majesty's Character, p. 601. where it is said, that *as to her Religion, she affected a middle Way between Popery and Puritanism, though her Majesty was more inclinable to the former; she disliked the secular Pretensions of the Court of Rome over foreign States, but was in love with the Pomp and Splendor of their Worship*. Here again our Author stops; but it follows in the very next Words, *On the other hand, SHE APPROVED OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE FOREIGN REFORMED CHURCHES*. Should this Gentleman set up for a Pattern of exact, and impartial Quotations? Or, is it possible to conclude, that because the Queen was more inclined to the Papists than the Puritans, therefore her Heart was ENTIRELY POPISH, when at the same Time, she approved of the Protestant Doctrines? And yet this is all the Proof we have of this heavy Charge.

Mr. N. is unwilling to enter any further into the Religious Character of this great Princess, whose Name stands so very high in the *English Annals*; 'tis an unwellcome Task; but, as the late Queen MARY the II. of GLORIOUS MEMORY, observed to Bishop *Burnet*, when Reflections were made in her Presence upon the Sharpness of some Historians, who had left heavy Imputations upon the Memory of some Princes, her Majesty re-

plied

plied, " That if those Princes were truly such as the Historians represented them, they had well deserved that Treatment, and others who tread their Steps, must look for the same; for Truth would be told at last, and that with the more Acrimony of Style, for being so long restrained. It was a gentle Suffering, to be exposed to the World in their true Colours, much below what others had suffered at their Hands."

Essay on
Mem. of
Q. Mary,
p. 24.

Queen ELIZABETH had, to be sure, very much of the high Spirit and Principles of her Royal Father, and affected to govern after his Example. Her Education under a Protestant Tutor, gave her an early Tincture for the Reformation; and *Interest* afterwards obliged her to be at Variance with the Pope, who had pronounced her Mother's Marriage illegitimate, and set aside her very Title to the Crown. Yet at her Accession, when she was Twenty five Years of Age, it was not certainly known, whether she was Protestant or Papist. " What to think of the Queen's Religion, when she came to the Crown (says Mr. *Strype*) one might hesitate somewhat; who in her Sister's Reign went to Mass, and bowed to Idolatry." " Your Majesty (says the Prior of St. *John's*) was not easily brought to condescend to the Alteration of Religion. You was not the Cause efficient, but one without which it could not take effect. Her Majesty also protested to Count *Feria* and Lord *Lamac*, but a few Days before Queen *Mary* died, that she now and then prayed to the Virgin *Mary* —" And again, " Whether the Queen was determined in her Mind or no, certain it is, that the Affairs of the Church continued for a Time in the same Posture as before her Accession, abating Persecution for Religion."

Ann. V.I.
P. 2.

Ann. V.I.
P. 51.

Mr. *N.* is as sensible as this Writer, of the Difficulties and Discouragements attending the Reformation, and has reported them in as strong Terms;

H. Pur.
P. 122.

which were so many good Reasons for the Queen's proceeding with Caution, and changing the Religion of the Nation by degrees; but when these Difficulties were abated, and the Government settled, why did she not strengthen the Reformation, by a more comprehensive Union among the *Reformed*? Why must the *Puritans*, who were the most determined Protestants in the Nation, be excluded the Church for the sake of a few Ceremonies and Popish Habits when the *Lutherans* and *Papists* were indulged in the Doctrine of the real Presence in the Sacrament? Why was her Majesty so averse to the removing

L. Parker, Images? Why did she mimic the theatrical Worship of the Church of *Rome*, by keeping a Crucifix with lighted Tapers upon the Altar in her Chapel contrary to her own Injunctions? And when it had been removed for some Time, at the Intercession of the Bishops, why did she cause it to be replaced as late

Ann. V. I. as the Year 1570, but because, as Mr. *Strype* says p. 175. her Majesty had been used to Crosses, and *Saints Images* in Churches, where she and her Nobles, that resorted thither, used to give Honour to them. Are not these Indications of a greater Inclination to the Pomp of *Rome*, than to the simple Plainness of *Geneva*?

Mr. N. does not pretend to enter into the *Soul*, nor can it be fairly inferr'd from any Thing he has writ, that Queen ELIZABETH'S Heart was ENTIRELY POPISH; this is the Language of our Author, who is further of Opinion, that "if her Majesty was really as Popish as my Pen has described her, she would have followed the Example of her Father, and retained many more Popish Superstitions," which he will hardly be able to prove; for had her Majesty done that she would have been abandoned by all King EDWARD'S Reformers, and must have gone over entirely into the Camps of Popery. Nor has Mr. N. ventured to say with Mr. *Rapin*, that the *Queen* sometimes made her Religion subservient to her political Interest

Rapin,
p. 224.

rest

rest; but he apprehends he has shewn, that though her Majesty was a Protestant, she inclined more to Popery than Puritanism; that she countenanced the Persecution of good Men throughout the greatest Part of her long Reign, and had a much greater Regard for the external Pomp and Ceremony of Worship, than for the Propagation of true Piety, and Christian Knowledge.

Our Author's next Charge is, that Mr. N. has cast injurious Reflections upon the *Doctrines, Government, and Worship* of the Church of England. He begins with *Doctrines*, in which he confesses, "There was but little Difference among the Reformers, however, a Censure is pass'd upon the Queen by Mr. N. himself, for not being rigid enough in her Opinions; and among other Faults laid to her Charge, she is blamed for being fond of old Rites and Ceremonies, thinking her Brother had stript Religion too much of its Ornaments, and made the Doctrines of the Church too narrow — Again, p. 45. Mr. N. reflects on the Queen for being inclined to think, that Articles might be too narrow." Senti-
ments of
the Reform-
ers in
Points of
Doctrines.
Vindic.
p. 39.

But where is this Reflection or Censure? If there be any such, 'tis not Mr. N's, but Bishop Burnet's, whose very Words he hath transcribed. "As her first Impressions, in her Father's Reign, were in favour of such old Rites, as he had retained (says his Lordship) so in her own Nature she loved State and some Magnificence in Religion, as well as in every Thing else; she thought, that in her Brother's Reign, they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and HAD MADE THEIR DOCTRINE TOO NARROW IN SOME POINTS." Hist. Ref
Vol. II.
p. 376.

But our Author will go out of his Way to maintain, that "The Articles of the Church of England were compiled with a Latitude that fairly admits a Subscription from those of the Sentiments of ARMINIUS as well as Calvin." What is this to Mr. N. who does not remember he has declared his Sentiments upon this Head; but the Gentleman advances further, Of the Ar-
ticles of the
Church of
England.
Vindic.
p. 40, 41.

and says, *That among the Compilers of the Articles there were several Anti-Calvinians.* Why then does he not name them? For it is certain, the Revisers of King EDWARD'S Liturgy, viz. Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill and Whitehead, were notoriously on the other Side, though they did not always speak with the Exactness of those that lived after the Controversy had been debated.

Vindic.

P. 43.

He affirms further, with Dr. Heylin, that "it does not appear that in compiling the Articles any Deference was paid to Calvin's Judgment or Authority; instead of that, the Assistance he offered was to his no little Grief and Dissatisfaction refused." But for this he cites no Authority. On the other hand 'tis certain,

Mem.

Cran. p.

409, 410.

Cranmer writ to Calvin for his Advice about calling a general Synod of Protestants, who so far approved it, as to say, He would pass over ten Seas to further it, but hoped he might be spared. When the same Archbishop thought of drawing up *Articles of Faith* for the Church of England, he communicated his Design to Calvin, which he greatly commended, and desired him to proceed with all Expedition. Calvin also wrote to the Protector, and to King EDWARD himself, which was so very acceptable to his Majesty and his whole Council, that Cranmer informed him, He could not do any Thing more profitable than to write often to the King. Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Fagius, who were Calvin's Disciples, were sent for into England to promote the Reformation, and were his strong Seconds, according to Mr.

Calv. Ep.

ad Facel.

June 15.

1557.

Hist. Presb.

p. 239.

Collyer. Nay, if we may believe Dr. Heylin, it was at the Sollicitation of Mr. Calvin and his Emissaries (as he is pleased to call them) that the Common Prayer-Book of King EDWARD underwent a second Review; and that the first Liturgy was discontinued and the second superinduced, to give Satisfaction to Calvin's Cavils, and the Mistakes of others of his Friends and Followers. How then does it appear that our first Reformers had no respect to this learn-

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ed Foreigner, or that his Assistance was refused ?
 Our Author, and the Apologist whom he follows,
 go on to observe, that “ in drawing up the Articles, the Vindic.
 “ Compilers, next to the Scripture and Doctrine of the Pri- p. 44.
 “ mitive Church, had an Eye to the Augustan Confession,
 “ the Writings of Melanchton, the Works of Erasmus,
 “ and the Erudition of a Christian.” Here again we have
 Dr. Heylin without any Authority. But admitting for
 once, that the Compilers of the Articles had a Re-
 gard to the *Augustan Confession*. Is there any Diffe-
 rence between that and *Calvinism*, except in the Man-
 ner of Christ’s Presence in the Sacrament ? Sure I
 am, *Calvin* himself subscribed it, as he writes to *Schal-*
dingius, Anno 1557. *Nec vero Augustanam Confessionem*
repudio, cui pridem volens & lubens subscripsi, sicut eam
author ipse [Melanchton] interpretatus est. And it is ve-
 ry remarkable, that in the original Subscription of the *Burnet on*
 Articles, both Houses of Convocation renounced the 39 Artic.
Ubiquity of Christ’s Bodily Presence ; which was the on- p. 308.
 ly Point of Consequence, wherein the *Lutheran Con-*
fession differ’d from the *Calvinist*. This was inserted
 among King *EDWARD’s* Articles, and was part of
 the XXVIIIth of Queen *ELIZABETH’s*, when first
 subscribed, though after some Time it was expun-
 ged. *Melanchton* was an excellent Divine, and of a
 most Catholick Spirit, but a *Calvinist* ; *Lampadius*
 in his Continuation of *Pezelius’s* History, writes
 thus, p. 409. *Philippus rigidissime olim, si quisquam*
alius, de Prædestinatione scripsit, postea mitigavit senten-
tiam suam — Neque tamen ab Orthodoxis unquam
est repudiatus aut condemnatus, neque ipse a severioribus
Syntheticis alienior fuit ; sed ad Bezam, SE PER OMNIA
CUM GENEVENSIBUS ORTHODOXIS FACERE, scribit.
 e. That his Sentiments were exactly the same with
 the orthodox *Geneva* Divines. *Erasmus’s* Paraphrase
 was set up in the Churches, because it was the best,
 and perhaps the only one then extant. And as for the
Erudition of a Christian Man, we shall see presently
 how sadly this Writer has misrepresented it.

But

P. 45, 46. But this charitable and useful Latitude as to the real Presence (says our Author) is another Objection with Mr. N. the Rubrick which declared, that by Kneeling at the Sacrament no Adoration was intended to any corporal Presence of Christ, being expunged. This is no Objection with Mr. N. who would have rejoiced, if it had been so charitable, as to take in the Puritans; it might then have been more useful, and prevented the Separation; for Mr. N. can see no Reason why the Wearing a Surplice or square Cap should not be left as indifferent, as the Manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament. But, that which follows in our

P. 47. Author (*viz.*) that "Mr. N. disapproves of every Man's enjoying his own Sense, without fixing it upon others," is neither better nor worse than a shameful Calumny, which he never can be able to make good, and must know from the whole Scope of the History of the Puritans to be false. Well, but what Relief was this charitable Latitude to the Lutherans or German Churches? Do they adore the corporal Presence? No, 'tis evident therefore, it was designed principally in favour of the Papists; according to Dr. Heylin, who says, "Great Care was taken to expunge such Passages in the Common-Prayer-Book as gave Offence to the POPISH PARTY, or might be urged by them as an Excuse for not coming to Church, as, the Prayer to be delivered from the Tyranny and Enormities of the Bishop of Rome. — "And, *come up closer to the CHURCH OF ROME*, (says he) the Queen enjoined the Sacramental Bread to be made round, in fashion of Wafers, — and all the old Festivals to be observed with their several Eves. —

But to return to the Doctrine of the Church of England; our Author and his learned Apologist appeal to the Articles themselves as a Proof, "That no one Doctrine of the Church, concerning Predestination, is contradicted by the Arminians — That the Articles differ from the Calvinists in that material Point of Universal Redemption. — And, that the

Vindic.

P. 42.

P. 44.

"Erudi

“*Erudition of a Christian Man published in King HEN-
RY’s Reign, which had the Approbation of most of
those that compiled the Articles is expressly against the
Calvinists Notion of FREE WILL.*” Mr. N. readi-
ly admits, that all the Reformers were not agreed in
their Sentiments about the Extent of Christ’s Re-
demption, and that the Thirty first Article of the
Church of England, which describes the Death of
Christ as a *perfect Redemption and Propitiation and Sa-* Of the Ex-
tent of
Christ’s
Redemp-
tion.
*tisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World both original
and actual, evidently favours the Universality; but this*
*is so far from being the chief Article of Dispute be-
tween the Arminians and Calvinists, that it is hardly
any at all; for even Gomarus, Amesius, and others
who restrain the Sufferings of Christ, distinguish be-
tween the Value or Merit of the Sufferings, and the
Will or Purpose of God in the Application, and
affirm, that the Merit of the Sufferings (arising from
the Dignity of the Person that suffered) was suffici-
ent for the Redemption of a thousand Worlds, if
there had been so many; nor did they think this in-
consistent with the Divine Purpose, of appointing a
certain Number of Persons to Salvation, from before the
Foundation of the World, and calling them effectually by
his Grace, in due Time, without any Regard to their pre-
vious Merits or Good Works: That this was the precise
Doctrine of the Reformers will appear, by consider-
ing the two main Points, of absolute PREDESTINA-
TION, and of FREE WILL.*

PREDESTINATION TO LIFE is described in the of Predes-
tination.
Seventeenth Article of the Church of England to be,
“*The everlasting Purpose of God, whereby before the
Foundations of the World were laid, he has constantly
ordered, by his Counsel secret to us, to deliver from
Curse and Damnation, those whom he has chosen in
Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to
everlasting Salvation as Vessels made to Honour —*”
Agreeably to this, King EDWARD’s Catechism, ap-
pointed to be taught by all School-Masters through-
out

Fol. 38. out England, declares, that "*As many as are in this Faith*
 "*stedfast, were forechosen, predestinated, and appointed*
 "*out to everlasting Salvation before the World was made.*"
 And lest it should be thought, that this might be
 owing to God's Foresight of their Good Works, it is
 Fol. 39. added, that "*the first, principal, and most perfect Cause*
 "*of our Justifying and Salvation, is the Goodness and*
 "*Love of God, whereby he chose us to be his, before he*
 "*made the World.*" This Catechism, with the Book of
 Mem. Articles, was drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, as
 Cran. he confessed at his Examination: When the Contro-
 P. 372. versy upon this Head open'd in Queen Mary's Reign
 the Martyrs thought the Doctrine of those that oppo-
 sed the *absolute Predestination of a certain Number to*
Salvation, subversive of the true Faith; Bishop Fer-
 rar, Bradford, Taylor, and Philpot, wrote to Cranmer,
 Ridley, and Latimer, then Prisoners at Oxford, de-
 siring them to take Cognizance of this Matter, and
 give their Advice. Upon which Occasion Bishop
 Ridley writ a Treatise of *God's Election and Predestina-*
 Mem. *tion*, Philpot another, Bradford a third, and Mr. Care-
 Cran. p. less, an eminent Martyr, published a Confession of
 350, 352. his Faith, one part whereof was in favour of *absolute*
Predestination; and the Prisoners in Newgate, as well
 as in the *King's Bench*, generally subscribed it.
 Mr. N. could produce a Number of other Testimo-
 nies from the Letters of the Martyrs, and the Book
 of Homilies, which prove to a Demonstration, that
 the first Reformers were in this Scheme; but Mr.
 Prynne has done it already so carefully, with respect
 to all the *five Points*, in his *Anti-Arminianism*, or the
 Church of England's old Antithesis to new *Arminia-*
nism, that nothing seems to have escaped his Dilig-
 gence.

Of Free
 Will.
 Vindic.
 p. 123,
 126.

The Article of FREE WILL is another Point of
 Controversy with the *Arminians*. Our Author cen-
 sures the Puritans for "*branding it always with the odious*
 "*ous Name of Popery, in order to represent those of that*
 "*Opinion in the most disagreeable Colours.*" — Nor can
 " Mr

" Mr. N. be acquitted of Partiality (says he) against
 " those who believe the Freedom of humane Will, because
 " he calls it the Pelagian Doctrine, and charges it with
 " supplanting the received Doctrine of the Reformation.
 " — Mr. N's Account of Mr. Hart and others (says
 " he) is, that they ran their Notions as high as the mo-
 " dern Arminians, or as Pelagius himself, despising
 " Learning, &c. but quotes no Authority, nor produces
 " any Evidence to support this heavy Censure, which
 " plainly is not levell'd only at those who believed the Free-
 " dom of the humane Will in Queen MARY's Days."

How unhappy is this Writer, when Mr. N's Marginal References fail him! If he had been acquainted with these Times he must have known, that the Article of *Free Will* was then always reckoned a Branch of the Popish Controversy. *We renounce* (say the Fox's M. Reformers, in their Confession of Faith) *the PAPI-Vol. III.* STICAL DOCTRINE of Free Will, &c. — But Mr. p. 102. N's Partiality consists in calling it the PELAGIAN DOCTRINE, without any Authority or Evidence. Must he then crowd his Margin with Authorities for every Line of his Book? Let this Writer consult Mr. Strype, whose Words are these; "Many of them
 " that were under Restraint for the Profession of the
 " Gospel [in Queen MARY's Days] were such as St. Mem.
 " held *Free Will* tending to the Derogation of God's Cran.
 " Grace, and refused the Doctrine of *absolute Prede-* p. 350,
 " *stination and Original Sin*" (which, by the Way, is 351, 352,
 an Evidence that the Reformers in general believed those Doctrines.) "They [the Free-Willers] were
 " Men of strict and holy Lives, but very hot in
 " their Opinions and Disputations, and unquiet —
 " The Name of their chief Man was *Harry Hart*.
 " *Trew* and *Abingdon* were Teachers among them;
 " *Kemp*, *Gybson*, and *Chamberlain*, were others:
 " THEY RAN THEIR NOTIONS AS HIGH AS PELAGIUS DID, AND VALUED NO LEARNING, AND
 " THE WRITINGS AND AUTHORITY OF THE
 " LEARNED THEY UTTERLY REJECTED AND DE-
 " SPISED.

Mem.
Cran.
App. N^o
83.

" SPISED. I have seen another Letter of *Bradford*
" to certain of these Men (says Mr. *Strype*) who are
" said to hold the Error of the PELAGIANS AND PA-
" PISTS concerning *Free Will*, and were then Priso-
" ners with him in the *King's Bench* —" Mr.
Philpot the Martyr, in one of his Letters to *Careless*,
calls them Schismatics, arrogant, and self-willed,
blinded Scatterers; and Mr. *Bradford*, in his Letter
to Bishop *Ridley* at *Oxford*, says, That in *Free Will*
they were plain PAPISTS, yea, PELAGIANS. Other
Authorities might easily be produced; but these are
sufficient to acquit Mr. *N.* of Partiality, who is as
great a Friend to the Freedom of human Actions,
as this Author himself.

L. Parker, But it is very surprizing to see the *Erudition* of a
p. 508. *Christian Man*, published in the Reign of King
HENRY the Eighth, and subscribed by all the Bi-
shops, as designed for the stable Doctrine of the
Church, produced in favour of the *Anti-Calvinistic*
Doctrine of Free Will, when nothing is more oppo-
site. " *Free Will* [says the *Erudition*] is a certain
" Power of the Will joined with Reason, whereby a rea-
" sonable Creature, without Constraint in Things of Rea-
" son, discerneth and willeth Good and Evil, BUT IT
" WILLETH NOT THAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO GOD
" UNLESS IT BE HOLPEN BY GRACE, BUT THAT
" WHICH IS ILL IT WILLETH OF IT SELF —"
It follows, " Our Wills were perfect in the State of
" Innocence, but are much impaired by the Fall of
" Adam; the high Powers of Reason and Freedom
" of Will being wounded and corrupted, and all
" Men thereby brought into such Blindness and In-
" firmity, that they cannot avoid Sin, except they
" are made free by special Grace, that is, by the
" supernatural Working of the Holy Ghost. The
" Light of Reason is unable to conceive the Things
" that appertain to eternal Life, though there re-
" mains a sufficient Freedom of Will in Things
" pertaining to the present Life —" Words can-

not be found more strong and conclusive against the *Arminian Doctrine of Free Will* than are in that Paragraph.

It were easy to shew the Sentiments of the Reform-Of Original Sin, Justification, &c.
ers upon the other distinguishing Points of Calvinism: The *Erudition of a Christian Man* says, that all the Posterity of Adam are born in Original Sin, and are hereby guilty of everlasting Damnation. Does an *Arminian* believe this? CRANMER was famous for maintaining the Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, without the Merit of Good Works; and so does the *Erudition*. Mr. Philpot was an Admirer of Calvin's *Institutions*, and had a great Value for the Church of Geneva; he and Mr. Careless, another Martyr, strenuously maintained the Doctrine of *Perseverance*, as depending upon the Divine Purpose, and not upon the Contingency of Man's Will. But as I have observed already, Mr. Prynne has collected the Sentiments of the Reformers so fully on this Head; and Mr. Hickman in his Answer to Dr. Heylin's *Quinquarticular History*, that there can be no Occasion for any further Remarks. I shall therefore dismiss this Article, with the Testimonies of two of those very learned Bishops who represented the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, and maintained the Doctrine of *Universal Redemption*. "I do Prynne's Cant. Dom. p. 166.
confidently avow [says Bishop Hall] that those other
Opinions [of Arminius] cannot stand with the Doctrine
of the Church of England." To which Bishop Davenant replied, "I know that no Man can embrace Arminianism in the Doctrines of Predestination and of Grace, but he must desert the Articles of the Church of England: Nor in the Point of Perseverance, but he must vary from the received Opinions of our best approved Doctors in the English Church."

After a Dissertation on the Posture of Kneeling, and Of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church of England, the Manner of receiving Persons to the Communion, with which the *Historian* has no Concern, our Author proceeds to the GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

p. 53.

" Mr. N's next Objection to King EDWARD's Reformation (says he) is the Form of Ecclesiastical Government. And here again the good Queen chose not only the most Christian, but the most moderate and catholick Scheme." No Objection of Mr. N's, nor of the first Set of Puritans, who would have been content with some Amendments in that Scheme, which even the Bishops themselves prayed and wished for; but 'tis a little odd to see a Writer glorying in the Comprehensiveness of a Form of Church Government, fortified with Acts of Uniformity, Injunctions, Advertisements, Articles of Enquiry, Oaths *ex Officio*, an High Commission, and other penal Laws against Dissenters, extending to the Ruin of great Numbers of Families. The Puritans might have been as rigorous, had the Power been in their Hands, but neither Party had much Reason to boast of their Catholicism.

Sentiments of the Reformers concerning the Distinction of the Order of Bishops & Priests.
p. 58.

After a long Quotation from Bishop Bancroft, for the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters, Mr. N. is introduced as *extreamly fond of a PARITY among the Clergy, and as taking too much Pains in that Cause.* Though the Reader will observe, he has never once declared his own Sentiments. But, surely it was an *Excess of Zeal* (says this Writer) *to press the pious Reformers and King EDWARD'S ORDINAL into this Service.* This indeed he has done, not from any Zeal in the Cause, but because he apprehended it was their Opinion, that *there were but two Orders of Church Officers in Holy Scripture, BISHOPS and DEACONS, and consequently that BISHOPS and PRIESTS were but different Ranks or Degrees of the same Order, or different Names for the same Office.* In Confirmation of this he produced the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth, with the Approbation of most of those who subscribed the Articles; which says, "O these TWO ORDERS ONLY, that is to say, PRIESTS and DEACONS, Scripture maketh express mention of, and how they were confirmed of the Apostles by Prayer."

"Prayer and Imposition of Hands." — "All Powers and Jurisdiction of one Bishop over another is of human Appointment." But since this Authority is not sufficient, some others shall now be added.

Mr. TINDAL, who translated the New Testament into *English*, and sealed it with his Blood in the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth, has these Words in his *Practice of Popish Prelates*; "The Apostles following, and obeying the Rule, Doctrine and Commandment of our Saviour, ordained in his Kingdom and Congregation, Two OFFICERS, one called after the *Greek Word*, *Bishop*, in *English* an *Overseer*; WHICH SAME was called *Priest*, after the *Greek* — Another Officer they chose and called him DEACON, after the *Greek*; a *Minister* in *English*, to minister Alms to the Poor — All that were called *Elders* or *Priests* (if they so will) were called *Bishops* also, though they have now divided the Names" —

Mr. JOHN LAMBERT, another Martyr in the same Reign, has these Words, "As touching Priesthood in the Primitive Church, when Virtue bare the most room, there were no more Officers in the Church than BISHOPS and DEACONS, as witnesseth, besides Scripture, full apertly *Hierom*, in his Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epistles, where as he saith, that those we call *Priests* were all one, and no other but Bishops, and the Bishops none but *Priests*."

Archbishop CRANMER is a Name of great Authority; this Prelate confesses in his Resolutions to King EDWARD's Questions, that the Names of Bishops and Priests are confounded in Scripture.

But to put this Matter beyond all Question, Bi-Vol. I. shop Burnet has preserved an Original Paper of these Append. Times, entitled, *A Declaration of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests*. Which concludes thus, after having maintained, that the Duties of

A Reveiw of the Principal Facts objected to the
 of both Functions were the same. "The Truth is,
 " That in the New Testament there is no mention made of
 " any Degrees or Distinction of Orders, but only of
 " DEACONS or MINISTERS, and of PRIESTS or BI-
 " SHOPS." This Declaration was signed by more
 than Thirty seven Divines and Civilians, among which
 were Thirteen Bishops, viz. Thomas [Cranmer] Cant.
 Edward Ebor. John London, Cuthbert Durham, John
 Lincoln. John Bath. Tho. Ely, John Bangor, Nicolas
 Sarum, Edward Hereford, Hugo Wigorn, John Roche-
 ster, Richard Chichester, Nicolas Wotton, Cox, Red-
 mayn, &c.

I might add the Testimonies of Alley Bishop of
 Exeter, in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Eli-
 zabeth; Pilkington of Durham, Jewel of Salisbury,
 Whitgift of Canterbury, who all declare with St. Jerom
 and Austin, the Office of a Bishop to be above the
 Office of a Priest, not by Authority of Scripture, but
 by the Custom of the Church. Let the Reader judge
 now, whether it was an Excess of Zeal in Mr. N. to
 press the Reformers into this Opinion.

Of King
 Edw. Or-
 dinal.
 p. 58, 59.

But he has appealed to King EDWARD'S ORDI-
 NAL, and has said, "That it is almost the same with
 " that now in use —" Again (says Mr. N.) "The
 " Form of ordaining a PRIEST OR A BISHOP is the
 " SAME [i. e. with that now in use] there being no
 " express Mention, in the Words of Ordination, whe-
 " ther it be for the one or the other Office; but this has
 " been alter'd of late Years — This is his material
 " Proof." If this was an Excess of Zeal, it is not
 Mr. N's but Bishop Burnet's, from whom he tran-
 scribed it: His Words are these, " They (viz. the
 " Reformers) agreed on a Form of ordaining Dea-
 " cons, Priests and Bishops, which is the same we
 " yet use, except some few Words that have been
 " added since, in the Ordination of a PRIEST OR BI-
 " SHOP; for there was then no express Mention made
 " in the Words of Ordaining them, that it was for
 " the one or the other Office: In both it was said,

" Receive

first Volume of the History of the Puritans.

25

"Receive thou the Holy Ghost, &c. But this having been since made use of, to prove both Functions the same, it was of late Years alter'd as it is now." This Remark (says Mr. Collyer) put me upon comparing the first Ordinal with that published in the third Edition of Sparrow's Collection, "and here I found them exactly the same; but afterwards perusing this Office, as it stands reviewed at the Savoy, I find the Author's Observation is right." And if Bishop Burnet's Observation was right, this Gentleman must surely be in the Wrong, when he calls it a Misrepresentation, and says the Weight of it must fall wholly upon Mr. N.

The only material Difference in the Forms of Ordination mentioned by our Author, is, that in the Consecration of a Bishop, he is exhorted to MINISTER DISCIPLINE, which is not mentioned in the Ordination of a Priest; and yet in Archbishop Parker's Consecration, which was according to King Edward's Ordinal, there is no mention of MINISTRING DISCIPLINE; the Words are these, "Then they delivered the Holy Bible into his Hands, using these Words to him, Give heed to thy Reading, Exhortation and Doctrine; think upon these Things contained in this Book; be diligent in them, that the Increase coming thereby may be manifest to all Men. Take heed to thy self, and unto thy teaching; be diligent in doing them, for in doing this thou shalt save thy self and them that hear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Here is not a Word of Discipline, though it was according to King EDWARD's Ordinal. But before we leave this Article, Mr. N. would beg leave to mention one Testimony more, to shew, that in these Times the Exercise of Discipline was not thought to be reserved only to the Bishop, and that is the Learned Archbishop Usher, whose Book, entitled, the *Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government*, begins thus, "BY ORDER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, all Presbyters are charged
" to

" to administer the Doctrine and Sacraments, and
 " the DISCIPLINE of Christ, as the Lord hath com-
 " manded, and as this Realm hath received the
 " same; and that they might the better understand
 " what the Lord had commanded therein, the Ex-
 " hortation of St. Paul to the Elders of the Church
 " at Ephesus is read to them; *Take heed to your selves*
 " *and to all the Flock among whom the Holy Ghost, ha-*
 " *made you Overseers, to RULE the Congregation of*
 " *God——*" Therefore, without disputing about
 the Meaning of the Word ORDER, the Reader may
 determine how far Mr. N. has made good his Asser-
 tion, that in the Opinion of the Reformers, BISHOP
 and PRIESTS were vested with the same Powers, and
 were but different Names for one and the same Office.

Let us now attend the Triumphs of our Author
 p. 63, &c. " Nothing sure, but the Impossibility of supporting his
 " SCHEME, and proving the Parity of Presbyters and
 " Bishops any other way, could have put Mr. N. upon
 " this Method of attempting it. He had, indeed, under-
 " taken a difficult Task, and must therefore have great
 " Allowances in the Execution of it; the Sense and Prac-
 " tice of the whole Christian Church for fifteen Hundred
 " Years, in a Form of Church Government, so early,
 " universally, so constantly received, were great Obsta-
 " cles. NO INSTANCES OF PRESBYTERS EXERCISE
 " THE DISTINGUISHING OFFICE OF A BISHOP
 " No Example of a Man's being a Bishop one Day [while
 " a Chairman or Moderator] and a meer Presbyter the
 " next ——" One would think this Gentleman had
 read over the *Fathers* with a critical Exactness, that
 he ventures to pass a Negative upon the Practice of
 the Church for fifteen Hundred Years. How ignorant
 were our first Reformers of the Sense and Practice of
 the first Ages of Christianity! And how deplorable is
 the Condition of the foreign Reformed Churches, which
 have no Diocesan Bishops! Unhappy and illiterate
 Divines, to fix upon a Form of Church Government
 unknown to all Antiquity, and

contrary to that which was so early, so universally, and so constantly received, till the late Reformation! Have ye no Bishops of a superior Order to Presbyters? Then it is to be feared, ye have no ordained Ministers, and consequently no Sacraments, for none but Bishops may ordain, and none but the ordained Clergy may administer the Sacraments. *There is not a single Instance in all Antiquity, of a Presbyter's exercising the distinguishing Offices of a Bishop* — But is this Writer infallible? Mr. N. does not pretend to so critical an Acquaintance with the ancient Fathers as this Gentleman; but if he would condescend to read a modern Author, I would recommend to his perusal the Lord Chancellor KING's *Constitution of the Primitive Church*, whose Definition of a Presbyter is, that *he is a Person in holy Orders, having thereby an INHERENT RIGHT TO PERFORM THE WHOLE OFFICE OF A BISHOP, but having no Parish, not actually discharging it without his leave.* His Lordship undertakes to prove in the same Chapter, "That Presbyters were called by the same Titles, and that they are expressly said to be of the very same specifick Order with Bishops, though they differ'd in Pre-eminence or Degree; — That they RULED in those Churches to which they belonged. — That they presided in Church Consistories with the Bishop — That they had the Power of Excommunication, and of restoring Penitents to the Churches Peace — That they confirmed — and, that there are clearer Proofs of Presbyters ordaining, than of their administering the Lord's Supper." The same learned Author maintains, that there were but two Orders, [*viz.*] of BISHOPS and DEACONS instituted by the Apostles; and if they ordained but two (says he) I think no one had ever a Commission to add a Third, or to split one into Two, as must be done, if we separate the Order of Presbyters from the Order of Bishops — How contradictory are these Positions to our Author's,

L.H. Chan.
King's
Senti-
ments, and
others.
Part I.
Chap. IV.

vid. p. 88,
94, 95,
102,
& seq.
Ed. 1691.

vide
H. Pur.
Vol. II.
p. 407.

p. 65.

Vindic.
Ch. of
Scotland,
P. 336.

who assures us upon his own great Reading and Reputation [for he quotes no Authority] that *no Instance can be given of a Presbyter's exercising the distinguishing Office of a Bishop*; whereas his Lordship has produced sundry Authorities and Examples from the most ancient Fathers to the contrary, which I hope this Writer will consult from the Margin; and in the distinguishing Point of Ordination his Lordship avers, *There are clearer Proofs of Presbyters doing it, than of their administering the Lord's Supper.* But lest his Lordship's Acquaintance with Ecclesiastical Antiquity should not be thought by this Gentleman equal to his own, I would beg leave to support it with the Testimony of two as eminent Bishops as the last Age has produced; one is Bishop Moreton, who declares in his *Apologia Catholica*, that TO ORDAIN *was the ancient Right of Presbyters.* The other is Archbishop Usher, who being asked by King Charles I. in the *Isle of Wight*, Whether he found in Antiquity, that *Presbyters alone ordained any?* He answered YES; and that he could shew his Majesty more, even *where Presbyters alone successively ordained Bishops*, and instanced in the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, choosing and making their own Bishops, from the Days of *Mark*, 'till *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*. And because this Writer is pleased to introduce Bishop Burnet as a Patron of the Imparity of Bishops and Presbyters Mr. N. will confront him with his Lordship's own Words; "As for the Notion of distinct Offices of Bishop and Presbyter (says his Lordship) I confess 'tis not so clear to me, and therefore, since I look upon the Sacramental Actions as the highest of sacred Performances, I cannot but acknowledge, those who are empowered for them must be of the HIGHEST OFFICE in the Church."

Where now are our Author's *Trophies*? Have these great Divines and Antiquaries mistaken the Sense and Practice of the whole Christian Church for fifteen Hundred Years? Have they taken Things upon

Trust?

Trust? Or is not this Gentleman too hasty and assuming? Who not content with one bold Stroke of his Pen to have claimed all Antiquity to his Side, falls unmercifully on Mr. N. and represents him as in a *Design to serve his Cause* by perverting the publick Offices of the Church. "*This being the Case* (says p. 65. "he) *other Methods were to be tried, and the very Form of consecrating a Bishop, who had before been ordained a Priest, be employed to prove there was, in the Opinion of the Compilers of that Form, no such Order as Bishops in the Church.*" Such an Attack upon the moral Character of an Adversary is not very generous. But after what has been said with Relation to King EDWARD's Ordinal, I shall leave it to his own and the Reader's Reflection.

But still it seems, a peculiar Infelicity attends the p. 68. History of the Puritans on this Point, for which he turns his Reader to the very End of the Book [p. 594.] "They [the Puritans] acknowledged (says Mr. N.) but two Orders of Clergy of Divine Institution (*viz.*) Bishops, or Priests, and Deacons, and yet nothing is more plain, than that they did not think a Deacon to be a Clergyman, nor would allow him to act as a Minister." "By this odd Account of Mr. N. (says our Author) it plainly appears, the Puritans believed two Orders of Clergymen, one of which, in their Opinion, was no Order at all." Did then Mr. Cartwright, B. D. believe himself to be no Minister or Clergyman (to use the Language of this Writer) when he preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge for several Years, only upon the Foot of Deacon's Orders? Did Mr. Travers of the Temple, and Mr. Fenner, &c. who never advanced higher than Deacons in the Church of England, think themselves no Ministers [or Clergymen] before they were ordained abroad? I confess, the Word *κλήρως*, or Clergy, is no where in Scripture, as I remember, appropriated to Church Officers, nor was it the Language of the Puritans, it shall therefore be struck out; but the Truth is, most

of the Puritanical Lecturers of those Times accepted of Deacons Orders to qualify them to preach and baptize, though they refused, for some Reasons, to be ordained *Priests*. They believed the Order or Office of a *Deacon* to be equally of Divine Institution with that of a *Priest* or *Bishop*, and that his distinguishing Province was to *serve Tables*, or to manage the secular Affairs of the Congregation, according to the Institution, *Acts* vi. 2, 3. and the Practice of the foreign Reformed Churches; and if their Discipline had been established, they would no doubt have confined them to their proper Business; but as Matters stood with the Church of *England*, they were content to yield this Point for the present, and accept of a Liberty to preach and baptize under such a Character, rather than forego their Ministry, or be obliged (by taking up the Office of a Priest) to all the Parts of Parochial Service.

*Of the Li-
turgy and
Forms of
Prayer.
Vindic.
p. 69, &c.*

*Hist. Pur.
F. 54
p. 236,
595.*

p. 76, 81.

We come now to the *Worship* of the Church of *England*; which our Author introduces with a large Encomium upon the publick *LITURGY*, and its Preference to the *Geneva* Forms. And here again (says he) *Queen Elizabeth is so unhappy as to incur this Gentleman's Displeasure*; though he has not once declared his own Sentiments, nor so much as commended the Puritans for objecting to the Liturgy's being taken out of the Mass Book, but excused it from the Inadvertency of the Compilers, or the Necessity of the Times. Mr. N. had allowed, that *the Puritans did not object to prescribed Forms of Prayer, provided they might have been indulged a Liberty of altering or varying some Expressions*. Upon which our Author exclaims, as if the Fabrick of the Church, and the whole Protestant Religion was in danger. "This had been an effectual Way (says he) to throw the whole Nation into great Confusion, and give the Papists such Advantage, as would have enabled them to subvert the Protestant Religion. What! the *Popish, Lutheran, and Calvinistic* Clergy, al-

“ter or vary [an Expression in] the publick Prayers, as any of them thought proper! By this hopeful Scheme, when Ministers were forbid to preach against one another, they had a sure Way of continuing Diffensions in their Prayers.” Wonderful! And might they not still have done this in their *conceived Prayers* before Sermon? Or ought they not, *L. Parker*, for the same Reason, to have been forbid Preaching, p. 84. and confined to reading the Homilies, since there was as much Danger of their Preaching, as of their Praying against each other? It was once recommended to the Discretion of Ministers, to change the Lessons or Chapters in the publick Service; and would the Inconvenience have been greater, if some little Indulgence had been granted them in the Prayers? Sure I am, it would have been a more catholick and comprehensive Scheme, which this Gentleman, when he can turn it against the Puritans, is very fond of. But this not being Mr. N’s *hopeful Project*, tho’ this Writer is pleased to charge it upon him, the Historian is not answerable for it. p. 82.

Our Author proceeds next to vindicate the Church in retaining the HABITS. Mr. N. had said, that Queen *Elizabeth*’s Common-Prayer-Book was hardly equal to that which was set out by King EDWARD, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign; *for whereas in that Liturgy all the Garments were laid aside but the Surplice, the Queen now returned to King EDWARD’S FIRST BOOK*, wherein Copes and other Garments were ordered to be used.” And is not this true? Yes, but “it had been more generous and impartial (says he) to have mentioned the Queen’s Injunctions, that followed soon after, wherein her Majesty insisted only on the Habits of King EDWARD’S second Liturgy.” Mr. N. is very sensible of the Queen’s Condescension, but is of Opinion, that it was not owing to the Queen’s Inclinations, but to the unsettled State of her Affairs, it being necessary at first to

A Review of the Principal Facts objected to the

to proceed with great Caution, and offend as few among the Protestants as possible; for which Reason even the *Habits* were not urged with so much Rigor as when the Government and Church were better settled; but if there be any *Aspersions* in this Case, 'tis the Law has aspersed her Majesty's Reformation, and not Mr. N. for the *Law* returned us back to King EDWARD's first Liturgy; according to Archbishop *Whitgift*, who sets down the Difference between the two Books thus,

Strype's
Ann. V. I.
p. 84.

King EDWARD's second
Book has it thus:

" The Minister at the
" Time of the Commu-
" nion, and at all Times
" in his Ministration,
" shall use neither *Albe*,
" *Vestment*, nor *Cope*, but
" being an Archbishop
" or Bishop, shall wear
" a *Rochet*, and being a
" Priest or Deacon a Sur-
" plice only."

Queen ELIZABETH'S
Book has it thus:

" The Minister at the
" Time of the Commu-
" nion, and at all other
" Times in his Ministra-
" tion, shall use such
" Garments as were in
" use by Authority of
" Parliament, in the SE-
" COND Year of the
" Reign of King ED-
" WARD VI."

And though her Majesty was pleased to indulge her Clergy with the Habits of King EDWARD's second Book, yet in her own Chapel she kept to the first, contrary to her Injunctions; the Priests attended in their Copes; Crucifixes and lighted Candles were upon the Altar, Gentlemen and Children in their Surplices, with a Variety of Musical Instruments and Voices, and almost all the Theatrical Pomp of *Rome*, which gave Occasion to Archbishop *Laud* and his Party, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* to reduce the whole Church to this Standard, which they called the purest Times of Queen ELIZABETH.

Mr.

Mr. N. has related at large the Sentiments of the Reformers concerning the *Habits*, and made it appear, they did not submit to them of Choice, but of Necessity, to keep the Church in the Queen's Favour; which is so evident, that one would think no Writer of Credit could dispute it. "I my self (says *Sermon before H. of Commons, 1688.* Bishop Burnet) have seen the Letters of the chief Bishops of that Time, from which it appears, that the Queen's Stiffness in maintaining some Ceremonies, flowed not from their Counsel, but from the Practice of some disguised Papists." *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* "The first Bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of Exile (says *Ann. V. I. Mr. Strype*) as Cox, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Jewel, *P. 177.* Parkhurst, Bentborn, upon their first Return, laboured all they could, against receiving into the Church the Papistical Habits, but could not obtain it from the Queen and Parliament. When the Habits were enacted they consulted what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter upon their Functions, but they concluded not to desert their Ministry." They plainly expressed their Dislike of the Habits (says Bishop Burnet) and wished them thrown out of their Churches. "All the Bishops that had been beyond Sea (says Grindal) dealt with the Queen to let the Habits fall, but she was inflexible." But this Gentleman will vindicate her Majesty's Stiffness, and argue for the Wisdom and Prudence of continuing the Habits for the Sake of the Populace, especially, *when it was declared, that no Holiness was imputed to them;* which he may do without any Disturbance from Mr. N. at present, because it has little Relation to the History, and we shall meet with the Return of this Argument in his Appendix.

Our Author concludes his first Chapter, with a Defence of the DISCIPLINE of the Church, which he confesses is not so perfect as good Men wish, and as the Bishops *Of the Discipline of the Church, P. 95.*

A Review of the Principal Facts objected to the

shops frequently and earnestly endeavoured to render it. May not this then serve as some Apology for the Zeal of the Puritans? Why might not they endeavour to render the Discipline of the Church more perfect as well as the Bishops? Or, if the Bishops deserted the Cause, why might they not pursue it in a legal Man-

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
in Pref.

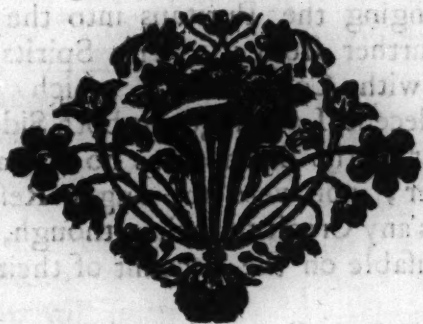
ner? for "If the Abuses which gave Occasion to the *Malecontents* to complain, had been effectually re-dressed (says Bishop Burnet) that Party must have had little to work upon." If it be said the

Ibid.

Abuses were not worth contending for; let us hear the abovementioned learned Historian, who having mentioned several Objections against the *English Reformation*, admits, that "there are a great many other Abuses brought in, in the worst Times, and now purged out of some of the Churches of the *Roman Communion*, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as *Pluralities, Non-Residencies, &c.* so that it may be said, that *some of the manifest Corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the Advantages that accompany them, are not thoroughly purged out.* The Want of publick Penance, and Penitentiary Canons, is indeed a very great Defect; our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it, in the Preface to the Office of Communion. — A Platform was made of an Ecclesiastical Discipline, but it was not prosecuted with that Zeal that the Thing required in *Queen ELIZABETH'S Time.*" Strange! that none of these *manifest Corruptions of Popery* should be removed in almost two Centuries; or that it should be such an unpardonable Crime in the Puritans to attempt it in a peaceable Manner: But still (says our Author) the Hierarchy of the Church, imperfect as it was, is much better than the *Geneva Model*; or what the Puritans called their *Holy Discipline*, which Mr. N. will not debate, being no more fond of Ecclesiastical Power, or Oaths *ex Officio*, in

the

the Hands of Lay-Elders, than in a Convocation or Bishop's Court. As for the Conformity of the two Schemes to Scripture and Primitive Antiquity, the Learned of different Persuasions will judge for themselves; but our Author can have no great Reason to boast of the Largeness or *Catholicism* of King EDWARD'S Discipline, when he considers the cruel Hardships which the Puritans suffered under it for above one Hundred Years: Hardships which no Art of Man can disguise, nor Length of Time deface!



C H A P. II.

The Pro-
gress of the
Controversy
between
the Puri-
tans and
the Church.
Vindic.
p. 110,
287.

THERE is a second Observation (says our Author) which naturally offers it self upon this Occasion, (viz.) that the Puritans did not desire a Toleration, but the Establishment of their own Scheme; such an Establishment as would have kept all others out of the Church. — Again, They expressly refused a Toleration when something of that seems to be intended for them. And what is this to Mr. N's History? But to set this Matter in a clear Light, it must be observed, that for the first twelve or fourteen Years of Queen ELIZABETH the Puritans contended only for a Reformation of some Abuses or Imperfections in the Hierarchy; and had these been redressed, the Separation, in all Appearance, had been prevented, and the Malecontents (according to Bishop Burnet) would have had nothing to work upon. But the penal Laws, and the Queen's Injunctions, being executed every Year with greater Rigor, instead of bringing the Puritans into the Church, drove them further from it. The Spirits of Men were heated with Controversy, which produced coarse and indecent Language on both Sides. The high Behaviour of the Bishops was no Advantage to their Character; nor were the angry Resentments of the Puritans any Credit to theirs; though, perhaps, the more excusable on the Account of their Oppressions.

At length a new Generation of warmer Spirits arose, with Mr. Cartwright (Lady Margaret Professor in Cambridge) at their Head, who, instead of confining his Disputes in the University to the Popish Habits, the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and a few other Rites and Ceremonies, struck at some of the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, and opened the Controversy into several other Branches, which seemed to portend its Subversion rather than Amendment.

ment. To carry on this Design, the Imperfections of the present Establishment were laid open, in the *first and second Admonition* to the Parliament, about the Year 1572. and a new Form of Government, like the *Geneva Platform*, was proposed in its Room; but for this the Authors were sent to *Newgate*, and *Cartwright*, after some Time, retired beyond Sea.

Thus the Puritans were divided among themselves; the *first Generation* declaring they would give themselves and the Church no further Trouble, if they might be dispensed with subscribing to the Use of the Habits, and the above-mentioned Ceremonies; and of these there remained a very considerable Number, throughout the greatest Part of this Reign. The *second Generation* were more zealous in the Cause, apprehending it their Duty, by all lawful Means, to attempt a farther Reformation in the Church of *England*, by setting aside the Remains of Antichrist, and obtaining a legal Establishment of what they apprehended to be the *Discipline of Christ*, which, according to them, was *Presbyterial*, or at least a College of Presbyters, with a stated President, called afterwards by the Name of BISHOP, at their Head. At length there arose a *third Generation*, about the Year 1584. (under the Name of BROWNISTS) of warmer and more uncharitable Spirits than both the former; these denied the Church of *England* to be a true Church, and urged the Necessity of a Separation, not only from that, but even from *Geneva* it self. If the Reader will keep these Distinctions in mind, he will easily discern, that as the younger Set of Bishops were more rigid and severe in girding the Ecclesiastical Laws upon the Puritans, these, by degrees, removed to a greater Distance from the Establishment.

Our Author has wasted a great many Pages in proving, that the *second Generation of Puritans* were for their own Establishment, exclusive of all others, and that they would have enforced it with wholesome Severities, if the Power had been in their Hands. But what has

H. Pur.

p. 147.

Mr. N. to do with this? Has he denied or concealed this Part of their Hiſtory? Has he not ſaid, "That both Parties (*viz.* Churchmen and Puritans) agreed too well in aſſerting the Neceſſity of Uniformity of publick Worſhip, and of calling in the Sword of the Magiſtrate for the Support and Defence of their ſeveral Principles, which they made an ill uſe of in their Turns, as they could graſp the Power into their Hands." — Again, "Neither Party were for admitting that Liberty of Conſcience, and Freedom of Profeſſion, which is every Man's Right, as far as is conſiſtent with the Peace of the Government." — And further, "That their Zeal for their Platform would have betrayed them into the Impoſition of it upon others, if it had been eſta bliſhed by Law." But did thoſe narrow and uncharitable Principles of the Puritans give the Church a Right to make uſe of the ſame Weapons againſt Men, that had not been guilty of any Overt-Acts of Sedition or Rebellion? Mr. N. agrees with this Writer, that it was an Act of Goodneſs, as well as Wiſdom in the Government, not to put the Weapons of Authority into the *Puritans Hands*; and he muſt beg leave to add, it had been no leſs Wiſdom and Goodneſs not to have put them into the Hands of the Biſhops.

p. 596.

But if the Puritans were to blame in attempting the Eſta bliſhment of their own Diſcipline, why might they not be allowed a *Toleration*? Our Author replies, *They did not deſire it; nay, they expreſſy reſuſed a Toleration, when ſomething of that Sort ſeems to be intended for them.* Is it poſſible to believe, that Men ſhould be ſuſpended, deprived, and imprifoned, to the Ruin of themſelves and their Families, and not accept of a *Toleration*? Would not Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren have continued their Miniſtry in the Church, if they might have been diſpenſed with, as Father Fox and ſome few others were? No, ſays this Writer, for agreeably to their Exhortation, of yielding to no TOLERATION, nor

p. 287.

accept-

accepting of any INDULGENCE, in all their Petitions, p. 288.
Admonitions, Supplications, &c. WE SEE NOTHING
OF A TOLERATION FOR THEMSELVES ONLY. This
bold and peremptory Assertion must arise from great
Ignorance, or something worse. It would be too te-
dious to transcribe the Numbers of Petitions, which
are before me, to the contrary; but the Reader will
find an Abstract of some of them in the *History of*
the Puritans, p. 404, 405, &c. in which they de-
clare their Readiness to subscribe the doctrinal Arti-
cles, and promise, if they may be dispensed with as
to the Habits and Ceremonies, they will make no
Disturbance in the Church, nor separate from it.
The Ministers of *London* in the same Year [1584.]
applied to the Convocation in most humble Manner,
to be a Means to the Queen, that they might not be
pressed to an absolute Subscription to Archbishop
Whitgift's Articles, protesting before God, and our
Saviour Jesus Christ, that if by any Means they
might continue their Labours in the Gospel, they
would do any Thing that was not sinful to procure
it. Among the Bills that were brought into Parlia-
ment for the Reformation of certain Abuses in the
Hierarchy, and in the Spiritual Courts, one was
touching *Liberty for godly Preachers*. In short, Mr. N. L. wh.
has not met with one single Petition to the Queen or p. 117.
Bishops, for the first twelve or fourteen Years of her Hist. Pur.
Majesty's Reign, that desires any more than a Dispen- Vol. I.
sation for the Use of the Habits, and three or four Ce- p. 450.
remonies, and a Redress of a few notorious Abuses; and 451.
'tis sufficiently evident, that great Numbers of those Pu-
ritans that suffered throughout the Course of this long
Reign, would thankfully have accepted such a Dispen-
sation, and given Security for their peaceable Behaviour.

But our Author adds, that *something like a Tolera-* p. 287.
tion seemed to be intended for them. Where does this
appear? Or, why is not some Authority produced
for such an important Fact? This Writer knows,
that if the Parliament had passed such an Act, the
Queen

Queen would have rejected it, because she was determined not to depart from her darling Uniformity, but to oblige all her Subjects to comply outwardly with the Laws, whatever their inward Persuasion might be. The learned Managers for Dr. Sacheverel, at his Trial, declare roundly, that the true Reason of her Majesty's suspending Archbishop Grindal, was, *his Indulgence to the Dissenters of those Times*. Is it likely then, that she herself intended them a Toleration? But he adds, that though a LEGAL TOLERATION in form was not granted, yet they had an Indulgence which amounted to much more, by being permitted to hold some Preferments in the Church. How great this Indulgence was will be seen hereafter; but Mr. N. is of Opinion, the Protestant Dissenters would rather choose a Toleration by Law, with some less Advantages, than to lie at the Mercy of an arbitrary Prince, to be sent a Begging whenever he pleases. 'Tis admitted, however, by this Gentleman, that the Indulgence of the Puritans was diminished in this Reign; but he adds, they are to thank themselves for it; that is, they were Troublesome and Noisy; they did not patiently lie down under the Yoke of Oppression, but gave Disturbance to the Proceedings of the Bishops, and were frequently petitioning the Parliament for Relief. This, it seems, was an unpardonable Sin, as it will always be accounted by arbitrary and despotick Governors. But after all, though Mr. N. is far from approving the Platform of the Puritans, or their narrow Principles, he is very confident, that excepting the rash Behaviour of a Few (for, as this Writer acknowledges, no Man can answer for Individuals) their Loyalty to the Queen and the State was untainted; they were never convicted of Plots and Conspiracies; and, tho' they had frequent Consultations about their Platform, their Associations were quiet and peaceable, and their Subscriptions were with this Limitation, we promise to observe it, as far as is consistent with the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Peace of the present State of the Church.

CHAP.

Vindic.
p. 286,
290.

Hist. Pur.
p. 623.

C H A P. III.

THE very first Transaction of Queen ELIZABETH, ^{Preaching} mentioned by Mr. N. (says our Author) is under ^{forbid.} this Title, PREACHING FORBID; and by his Account ^{Vindic.} must be thought the Proclamation was levell'd against the ^{P. 128,} Reformed Ministers. — But it was not the Preaching of the ^{130.} Reformed that occasioned this Proclamation. Let the Reader judge by the Words of the Proclamation, which are these, “The Queen’s Majesty understanding that there ^{Storpe’s} “be certain Persons, having in Times past the Office ^{Ann. V. I.} “of the Ministry in the Church, which now do purpose ^{Appendix,} “to use their former Office in Preaching and Mini- ^{P. 3.} “stry, and partly have attempted the same, assembling in the City of London, in sundry Places, great “Numbers of People; hath thought it necessary to “command all her Subjects to forbear to preach, “&c.—” Agreeably to this is Mr. Camden’s Account; “Some Ministers of the Word (says he) ^{Life Eliz.} “impatient of Delay, chose rather to out-run the ^{P. 6.} “Laws, and to sow the Doctrine of the Gospel more “freely, first in private, and then in Churches, “which occasioning Disputes with the Papists, the “Queen set forth her Proclamation —”

Mr. N. had asserted in his Preface, That the Queen ^{Penal} having conceived a strong Aversion to the Puritans, ^{Laws a-} pointed all her Artillery against them. And, has this ^{gainst Pa-} well shewn the contrary? Did not her Majesty tell her ^{Puritans.} Parliament, Anno Regni decimo septimo, that the ^{P. 130.} Puritans were dangerous to kingly Rule, every Man according to his own Censure making Doom of the Validity or Pravity of his Prince’s Government, with a common Veil and Cover of God’s Word. This was their Crime, and the Ground of the Queen’s fixed Aversion to them. Her Majesty was jealous of her supreme Authority, which she carried so high, as to forbid her Parliament meddling with the Reformation of the Church. No won-

der,

der, therefore, she would give no Quarter to those who put the Houses upon Measures which tended to weaken her despotick Power. Look through the Statutes of this Reign, and see, if almost every *Penal Law* does not, like a two edged Sword, equally cut down Papists and Puritans? Nay, has not this been the Case ever since, till the late Act of Toleration?

p. 130.

But the chief Intent of these Laws (says our Author) *was to support the Protestant Religion.* Were the Puritans then Enemies to the Protestant Religion? Or, was it impossible to suppress the daring Insolence of Papists, without suspending, silencing, and imprisoning, some of the most zealous Defenders of the Reformation? Mr. N. is of Opinion, that the Protestant Religion, instead of being weakened, has been considerably strengthened against Popery, by the late Act of Indulgence to Protestant Non-Conformists.

*Laws against
meer Non-
Conformists.
Vindic.
p. 128.*

But the Observation which stands at the Head of this Chapter is very surprizing, "*That the Government made no penal Laws against the Puritans, as such (i. e.) meer Non-Conformists.*" If the Government made no penal Laws against meer Non-Conformists, then all that were suspended, deprived, fined or imprisoned, in the former Part of the Queen's Reign, suffered without Law; but was not the Act of Uniformity pointed against *meer Non-Conformists*, and the Levying a Fine upon the Laity of twelve Pence a Sunday for not coming to Church? Was not Dean Sampson, and others, imprisoned, for *meer Non-Conformity*? When Thirty seven out of an Hundred of the London Clergy, were suspended, and their Churches shut up in the Year 1565. was it for any Thing else? "My Masters, and ye Ministers of London (says the Chancellor) the Counsel's Pleasure is, That strictly ye keep the Unity of Apparel; ye that will subscribe write *VOLO*, and those that will not, write *NOLO*; be brief, make no Words." Not to mention the Act of the 35th of ELIZABETH in this Place, were the

Arti-

Articles of Archbishop Whitgift, in the Year 1584. according to Law, or not? If not, then the suspending those that suffered by them were so many Acts of Church-Tyranny and Oppression; if they were, then there were penal Laws even at that Time against meer Non-Conformists, for they suffered for no other Reason, but refusing to subscribe his *second* Article, that "the Book of Common-Prayer, and Ordination of Priests and Deacons, contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that they would use it in all their publick Ministrations, and no other." But if Suspensions and Deprivations are not to be accounted *Penalties*, was not the Act of 23d ELIZABETH, which laid a Fine of £ 20 a Month upon all Persons that did not come to Church to hear Common-Prayer, a penal Law? Was not the Court of *High Commission* erected in this Reign? And, Did not this Court assume a Power not only of suspending and depriving, but of fining and imprisoning Men in a sovereign Manner for meer Non-Conformity? Are there not numberless Instances of their Severities upon Record, in this and the two following Reigns? How unguarded then is this Assertion, and contrary to the most notorious Facts, that *the Government made no penal Laws against MEER NON-CONFORMISTS?*

Our Author adds, *That where they fell within the Reach of the Laws enacted, upon repeated Plots, Conspiracies, and other high Provocations, against Papists, Impugners of the Supremacy, and other Disturbers of the State, they were treated with great Lenity and Mildness.* But if the Puritans were not chargeable with plotting and conspiring against the State, why were they brought within the Reach of the Laws made against such? Was it not possible to punish a Rebel or Traytor against his Queen and Country, without including a peaceable and loyal Protestant Non Conformist?

But the moderate and peaceable Non-Conformists (says he) were not only treated with Lenity but Favour; and though a legal Toleration was not granted them in form,

they had an Indulgence, which amounted to much more. Whereas Mr. N. for near five Hundred Pages, has reported little else but dreadful Severities against the Puritans; Exclusions, Suspensions, Deprivations, and Imprisonments, &c. A very melancholy Account this!

Ibid.

p. 132.

But our Author congratulates himself, that Mr. N. has in ten Lines entirely confuted all he had said in five Hundred Pages; because he admits, that in the Year 1586. the Holy Discipline was subscribed by above five Hundred Clergymen, all beneficed in the Church of England, useful Preachers, and of unspotted Lives and Characters, among whom were their chief Leaders, Cartwright, Travers, Field, Snape, Johnson, Sparks,

p. 134.

Cawdrey, Udal, &c. What now (says he) must the Reader think of this Gentleman's heavy Complaints? I answer, just as before, until he has disproved the Facts mentioned in the History of the Puritans, which he is not so courageous as to attempt. There were more than twice five Hundred Clergymen who made a shift to keep their Places in the Church, but wished and prayed for a Reformation, and smarted severely for attempting it, among whom were all the Persons our Author mentions. Mr. Cartwright was permitted to enjoy the Mastership of an Hospital in Warwick, after he had been expell'd the University, and forced to fly his Country in a starving Condition, but before he was well warm in his new Settlement he was suspended by his Diocesan, summoned before the Star Chamber, and detained two Years in a cold Prison, where he contracted such Distempers as never left him to his Death. Mr. Travers was Lecturer of the Temple, but almost always in Trouble, and at length being silenced by Archbishop Whitgift, was never restored; but spent the Remainder of his Days in Obscurity and great Poverty. Mr. Field was Minister of Aldermary, London, yet suffered above a Year and half's Imprisonment in the common Gaol of Newgate, being so poor as not to have Money to pay for his Lodging and Vitals. Mr. Johnson was Minister of St. Clement Danes,

Danes, but shut up in a close Prison for Non-Conformity, where he died in Poverty and Want. Mr. *Cawdrey*, Minister of *Luffingham* in *Suffolk*, was suspended, deprived, and sent a Begging with his Wife and eight Children. Mr. *Udal* was Minister of *Kingston upon Thames*, but deprived, imprisoned, tried, and condemned to Death, for writing in favour of the *Discipline*, and at last perished in Prison, where he had been confined two or three Years. These were among the chief Leaders of the Puritans, and beneficed in the Church. I beseech the Reader to look over the rest, and to remember the Survey of the western Counties, mentioned in the *History of the Puritans*, p. 479, which takes Notice, that after Twenty eight Years Establishment of the Church of England, there were but two Thousand preaching Ministers to serve near ten Thousand Churches, so that there were almost eight Thousand Parishes without preaching Ministers. Which Account is confirmed by the Reverend Mr. *Fenner*, who lived in these Times, in his Answer to Dr. *Bridges*, who declares, that a third Part of the Ministers of England were covered with a Cloud of Suspensions. Such was the Lenity of the Government!

'Tis very certain, that almost all the first and second Generation of Puritans were within the Establishment, their Principles not allowing them to separate from a true Church, but still they were frequently in Trouble, and being persecuted out of one Diocese, were obliged to take Shelter in another. To give the Reader a few Examples; Mr. *Hilderham*, a heavenly Divine (according to *Fuller*) was Minister of *Albby de la Zouch* Forty three Years, but in that Compass, suspended no less than Four Times, and continued under that Hardship almost Twenty Years. Mr. *Fenner* of *Cranbrook* was suspended Seven Years; Mr. *Wyburn* of *Rocheſter* Five; Mr. *Rochray* of *Rocheſter* Four; as were a great many others; some of whom were obliged to give Bond not to preach,

preach, or else be confined in Prison. 'Tis to little purpose to enquire, by what kind Providence they gained Re-admission to their Ministry, whether by the Interest of some great Friends, or by the Connivance of some Bishops less rigorous than others; or by Subscription with a Protestation or Reserve; or by a Promise of occasional Compliance. The Facts I have mentioned stand upon Record, as a Demonstration of the unjustifiable Rigor of the Times. And Mr. N. is of Opinion, that the most effectual Way to confute his History, would be to enter into a particular Detail of Facts, and to shew from authentick Testimonies, that the Persons he mentions as suffering did not suffer in the Manner he relates; or, that the *sharp Punishments* they underwent were really *wholesome Severities*, and justifiable both by the Laws of the Land and the Laws of Christ. But it will answer no End to deal in a few general Propositions, or to instance in a few who were dispensed with, as Father Fox, Coverdale, &c. and think by them to throw a Veil over all the Particulars, which fill up (according to our Author) almost five Hundred Pages.

But that Mr. N. may not be thought too singular, or severe, in charging Queen ELIZABETH's Government with unjustifiable Severities, he will take the Liberty to call in the Suffrage of a Person of very great Character in the Law, and as competent a Judge of these Affairs as this Age has produced, I mean my

Lord Chan.
King's Te-
stimony.
Fol. 81.

Lord High Chancellor KING, who in his Speech at Dr. Sacheverel's Trial has these Words, "If there were
" not a Necessity for it (says his Lordship) I would
" not mention what those *wholesome Severities* were,
" but rather cast a Veil on that part of the Reign of the
" Great and Glorious Queen [ELIZABETH]. To give
" a short View of them; some Hereticks were burnt,
" other Persons were *hanged*; some had their Goods
" *confiscated*; others had their Persons *imprisoned*;
" and to mention more particularly, a publick Act

" in

“ in writing, which cannot be falsified or misrepresented, the Act of the 35th ELIZABETH, entituled,
 “ *An Act to retain the Queen’s Majesty’s Subjects in*
 “ *their due Obedience, by which the Dissenters are,*
 “ among other Penalties, to abjure the Realm in
 “ forty Days, or suffer Death, without Benefit of Cler-
 “ gy, if they should join, or be present at any religi-
 “ ous Conventicle, or refuse to repair to some
 “ Church to hear Divine Service — an Abjurati-
 “ on (says his Lordship) worse than for Felony at
 “ common Law; in that they had the Benefit of the
 “ Clergy, in this not; and, whether this be a *whol-*
 “ *some Severity* (as Dr. *Sachewerel* had called it) hu-
 “ mane Nature will determine.” His Lordship, in
 his Reply to the Doctor’s Defence, adds, “ Here (*i.e.*
 “ in the Doctor’s Defence) is a Commendation of
 “ the Piety and Zeal of Queen ELIZABETH, who
 “ resolv’d entirely to suppress the Dissenters; and
 “ She, in her Prudence, put those Severities in Exe-
 “ cution: What those *wholsome Severities* were your
 “ Lordships have been told; they were Hanging,
 “ Burning, Abjuration, Confiscation, Imprisonment, loss
 “ of Estate, Liberty, and Life —” These were the
 Spots and Blemishes of her Reign, and were so gla-
 ring, that the learned Council for the Doctor made
 no Reply to this Part of the Charge.

But it seems all Mr. N’s Facts are to be set aside by Sir Fran-
 the single Testimony of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the
 Reader is call’d upon to mark his Assurance. “ No-
 “ body, ’tis to be hoped, will charge this Gentleman with
 “ want of Courage, who has ventured his own Reputa-
 “ tion against so great, so wise, and so good a Man, by
 “ accusing him of being guilty of false Colourings in an Af-
 “ fair that fell within his own Knowledge.” If Mr. N.
 had desired the Reader to take Things upon his own
 Credit, there might have been some Reason for this
 Remark, but has he any where opposed his Reputa-
 tion to Sir Francis’s? No, but Facts, and Autho-
 rities upon which those Facts are built, which this
 Writer

Fol. 290.

Sir Francis Walsingham’s Testimony considered. p. 134. p. 135.

Writer ought to have disproved, before he had amused us with the idle Talk of Mr. N's setting his *Reputation* against Sir Francis's. When Sir Francis wrote this Letter he was *Secretary of State*, and as the Queen's Servant, was now endeavouring to vindicate her Majesty's Behaviour towards Non-Conformists to a foreign Court; he must therefore be allowed to put the best Face on his Royal Mistress's Conduct, and acquit her in the best Manner he could. It deserves also a very particular Remark, that *Walsingham* died in the Month of April, 1590. which was two Years before the Act of the 35th ELIZABETH, that punished Non-Conformity, with Banishment and Death, took Place; it was also before the Trial of *Udal*, and the Execution of *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, and *Penry*. This Gentleman did not live to see the Imprisonment of *Cariswright* and his Brethren in the *Fleet*, nor any of the Severities of the last thirteen Years of the Queen's Reign, which were by much the sharpest and most cruel. In short, it is uncertain how long before Sir Francis's Death this Letter might be writ, for it bears no Date; But without comparing Reputations, let us examine the Testimony it self.

I find (says Sir Francis, speaking of the Queen's Conduct towards Papists) *her Majesty's Proceedings to be grounded upon two Principles; the one, that Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won, and induced by force of Truth, with the Aid of Time and the Use of all good Means of Instruction and Persuasion.* An excellent Rule! but far from being the Foundation of her Majesty's Proceedings. Were not the Consciences of the London Ministers forced, when they were called to Subscription in 1565. by the Queen's Command, and on their Refusal suspended? One of them makes

L. Grindal, this Remark upon it, "Great was the Sorrow of p. 98. " most Ministers, and their Mourning; saying, we " are killed in the Soul of our Souls for this Pollution " of ours, for that we cannot perform in Singleness " of Heart this our Ministry —" Did not *Whitgift*

do every Thing in his Power, by her Majesty's express Command, to force the Consciences of Men, when he suspended near three Hundred Ministers in his primary Visitation, for not subscribing, that there was nothing in the Book of Common-Prayer and Ordination repugnant to the Word of God? The Consciences of Men, in strictness of Speech, can never be forced; but to say the Queen did not exert her Authority to enforce Uniformity, without regard to the Consciences of Men, is to contradict the strongest Evidence that can possibly be given for any historical Fact in the World, and which even the Managers for Dr. Sacheverel, at his Trial, had not the Assurance to deny.

Her Majesty's second Principle is, that "*when Causes of Conscience exceed their Bounds, and grow to be Matter of Faction, they lose their Nature, and ought to be punished, though coloured with the Pretence of Conscience and Religion.*" That is, if Men speak or write against any Defects in the Establishment, or attempt a Redress of their religious Grievances, against the Will of their Sovereign, by applying to Parliament, it shall be called *Faction*, and a Contempt of Authority which Princes ought distinctly to punish. The Protestant Dissenters have formerly felt the Weight of this arbitrary Principle, when it has been in the Breast of a King, or a High Commission Court, or a Star Chamber, to call what they pleas'd *Faction*, and a Contempt of Authority, and to punish it with the Loss of Mens Ears, Liberties and Life; but Thanks be to God, we have no such Sovereignty among us at present!

"For the other Party, which have been offensive to the State, though in another Degree, which named themselves REFORMERS, and we commonly call PURITANS, Sir Francis observes, that their Violence was sometimes censured, but upon the whole, that they were tolerated with much Connivance and Gentleness—that when they endeavoured to set up their Discipline, and

“ and opened to the People a Way to Government, by their
 “ Consistories and Presbytery, this was born with, except
 “ in a Few that enter’d into extreme Contempt, because
 “ they pretended to make Propositions in a dutiful Man-
 “ ner, and to leave it to the Providence of God and the
 “ Authority of the Magistrate; but of late Years, when
 “ there issued out from among them, that affirmed that
 “ the Authority of the Magistrate was not to be attended
 “ — when they writ PASQUILS against the Church,
 “ when they began to make many People in doubt to
 “ take Oaths [i. e. the Oath *ex Officio*] when they be-
 “ gan to vaunt of their Strength and Numbers, and to
 “ use Comminations, that their Cause would prevail
 “ through Uproar and Violence, then the State was com-
 “ pelled to hold somewhat a harder Hand to restrain
 “ them.” How far the Puritans of these Times were
 tolerated with much Connivance and Gentleness, does
 not depend upon Sir Francis Walsingham’s Reputa-
 tion, nor upon any other Man’s, but upon the
 FACTS and Authorities to which Mr. N. appeals.
 The former Part of the Queen’s Reign was more
 mild and gentle than the Middle and Close, which
 Sir Francis did not live to see; though in his Time sun-
 dry of the Puritans were fined and imprisoned, and
 some put to Death; but afterwards the Severities were
 greatly improved by the Act of the 35th of this Queen,
 and were such (says Mr. Cowper, one of the learned
 Managers against Dr. Sacheverel) as, I hope, will never
 be seen more in this Kingdom, and were the blackest and
 worst Part of the Reign of that glorious Queen. If any
 of the Puritans wrote abusive Pasquils, or broke
 through the Laws of their Country, except in such Ca-
 ses wherein it was their Duty to obey God rather than
 Man, it was but reasonable they should be restrain-
 ed; but to make sanguinary Laws against a whole
 Body of Men, for the Excesses of a Few, or to ad-
 judge Men to Banishment and Death for some harsh
 and unmannerly Expressions in the Warmth of Dis-
 pute, or for not coming to Church, or for worship-
 ing

ing God in a peaceable Manner in separate Assemblies, is repugnant to the Laws of Nature and Christianity. Had the Puritans been convicted of Plots and Conspiracies, or broke out into open Rebellion against the State, as the Papists did, their Enemies would have recorded it with Pleasure, as well as their uneasy Behaviour under the Oppressions of an arbitrary Government; but neither Sir Francis Walsingham, nor any other Writer of Credit I am acquainted with, has produced any Examples of this kind; for, though Barrow and Greenwood were hanged for writing seditious Books and Pamphlets, 'tis well known they went out of the World with the strongest Professions of Loyalty to the Queen, and fervent Prayers for the Prosperity of her Government; and that they might have been pardoned, and their Lives spared, if they would have promised to come to Church: They died, therefore, for Non-Conformity.

But they affirmed (says Sir Francis) that the Authority of the Magistrate was not always to be attended in Matters of Conscience. And, what then? Must they be fined, imprisoned, and put to Death? If Christians ought never to worship God without the Leave of the Magistrate, how could the Christian Religion have been introduced into the World, or have subsisted for the first three Hundred Years? Or, how can we justify the separate Assemblies of the Protestants and Martyrs in the Reign of the bloody Queen MARY? 'Tis therefore very extraordinary in this Writer, to repeat so often what Sir Francis calls one of the Queen's Maxims (*viz.*) That Consciences are not to be forced, as if he really believed her Majesty governed by it, when he knows that the Consciences of the Puritans were sifted, and a Window made into their Hearts by the Oath *ex Officio*, and by Archbishop Whitgift's Twenty four Interrogatories, which the Lord Treasurer Burleigh called, "A judicial and canonical sifting poor Ministers, too much favouring of the Romish Inquisition, and a Device to seek for Offend-

ers rather than to reform them." But if we should admit for once, that her Majesty *did not force the Consciences of her Subjects*, did she not oblige them, under the severest Penalties, to come to Church, and make an outward Profession of that Way of Worship which their Consciences disallowed? Was not this to establish Hypocrisy by a Law, and oblige Men to deal falsely with God in Matters of the most solemn Importance? What did the Papists require in Queen MARY's Reign, but that all People should come to Mass, and comply outwardly with the Laws and Injunctions of the Church? If they would have done this, the Bishops would hardly have sifted their Consciences about *Transubstantiation*; but surely such a Conduct is not to be justified by Protestants. Sir Francis concludes his Letter with a remarkable Expression, which this Writer has artfully concealed, *viz. That her Majesty was NO MORE A TEMPORIZER IN RELIGION, nor to be alter'd by Success abroad, nor the Change of Servants at home. NO MORE a Temporizer!* Does this imply that she had formerly temporized? If so, 'tis no wonder she thought her Subjects might lawfully follow her Example. Let the Reader now pass his own Censure upon what I have called the *false Colourings of Sir Francis Walsingham's Letter.*

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
p. 421.

Mr. Fox's
Testimony
Vindic.
p. 140.

Fuller,
B. IX.
p. 107.

Our Author's next Evidence, to justify the Queen's Severity towards the Puritans, is taken from a Letter of Father Fox the Martyrologist, whose eldest Son Samuel, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, having travelled beyond Sea without Leave from his Father, or the College, "was upon his Return home expelled for a suspected Papist by the factious Puritans, violating the Laws of Gratitude, and despising (says Mr. Fox) my Letters, and the Intercession of the President." This the good old Man, in a Letter to one of the Bishops, imputes to their Resentments against himself, because he could not go their Lengths in declaiming against Archbishops and Bishops, and then calls upon their Lordships

ships to take care of them, " as foreseeing great Disturbances might arise from their intemperate Zeal, who, while they require every Thing to be formed according to the Rules of their own strict Discipline, will bring all Things into Jewish Bondage." This was such an angry and passionate Letter, that Mr. Fuller hopes the Reader will not impute it to the good old Gentleman's Age, nor to his Affection to his Son, but to the unjust Affront which was offer'd him. The Merits of this Cause are not before Mr. N. but what does the Letter prove? If the *Expulsion was just*, it will prove, that the good old Man was grown peevish, and carried his Resentments too far; and if it was *unreasonable*, it will shew, that 'tis dangerous to lodge Power in the Hands of the Clergy, and that *Party Zeal* will, upon some Occasions, carry Men beyond the Bounds of Temper and Moderation, for which, nevertheless, it would be very unreasonable to punish the whole Body.

With this Letter, which was writ towards the Close of Mr. Fox's Life, our Author has artfully connected another of the same Reverend Divine's, about Twenty Years before, in which he " praises her Majesty's Wisdom and Prudence, in restoring the Protestant Religion, and calling back those that were in Banishment; and among other Things, for quenching the direful Flames of Persecution [in the late Reign] and opening a Liberty to Consciences so long shut up—" This was writ in the Year 1564. and was occasioned by a favourable Answer her Majesty had given to the Petition of some Puritan Divines against the Habits and Ceremonies, *which had comforted the Minds of godly People*. But this Writer has thought fit to conceal the Date of it in this Place, that it might seem to have respect to that Part of her Majesty's Reign wherein she thought fit to inflict *sharp Punishments* upon the Dissenters, whereas it was written several Years before; and therefore Mr. Fox's Character

of the Queen at this Time deserves no Regard as to her after Conduct.

We have now done with our Author's Testimonies for the Queen's Gentleness and Moderation towards the Puritans, which he apprehends was as mild as their dangerous Schemes and violent Proceedings would admit; the Credit of which must be left with the Reader. "The next Thing to be considered (says

Argu-
ments of
this Writer
for penal
Laws.
Vindic.
p. 149,
150.

he) is, how it came to pass, that Conformity was more warmly pressed, and the Laws relating thereto put in

stricter Execution, after some Years, than they were at

the Beginning of the Queen's Reign." All which Mr. N. might pass over in silence, as having little or

no Relation to his History. But let us hear his Arguments. The first is taken from the *Comprehensiveness of the established Form of Government*. This (says he) destroys the greatest Part of Mr. N's Complaints.

"If the Establishment was founded upon a more Catholick

and Comprehensive Bottom than the Puritan Platform;

if it took in the greatest Numbers, and was the best Me-

dium between Protestants of different Persuasions, then

those that would not comply must blame themselves."

What! If they could not do it with a good Conscience, as was the Case both of Papists and Puritans.

He adds, "It was great Wisdom not to reduce it to a narrow Platform." And Mr. N. is of the same Mind;

but might it not have been made larger, or have been attended with a Toleration? However, let the

p. 150.

Reader mark what follows, *If the Puritans could not comply with a reasonable and extensive Plan, they could*

lay the Blame no where so properly as upon the PECULIARITY OF THEIR OWN WAY OF THINKING. Admirable!

This Gentleman is happy in a Catholick Soul, that can think and comply with the Majority,

and in a Conscience entirely under the Direction of his Will; but if he had been a Native of Rome

or Madrid, would he have professed the publick Religion, when he was a Protestant in Heart? Or,

would he have thought it reasonable to have been

burnt,

burnt, or shut up in the Inquisition, for his peculiar Way of Thinking?

The Question with Mr. N. is not, whether King EDWARD's, or the Geneva Establishment is the most Comprehensive, but whether both of them might not have been enlarged? Or, whether either of them ought to have been established, without a general Indulgence to peaceable and loyal Dissenters? If the Legislature may settle what Terms of Communion they please for the national Establishment, with Exclusions, Suspensions and Deprivations, to such as refuse to comply; may they also fine, imprison, banish, and put Men to Death, for *Non-Conformity*? This is the true State of the Question, which our Author must defend if he will vindicate the Queen, or oppose Mr. N.

But let us go on with his Arguments: *There was a great Diversity in performing publick Service; it was therefore necessary to enforce an Uniformity by sharp Punishments. — Some of the common People ridiculed the Habits; therefore all the Clergy must be obliged to wear them under the severest Penalties. — The Controversy occasioned a great deal of Contention and abusive Language; it was therefore proper to put an End to it this Way; when it might as well have been ended by laying the Habits aside, according to the apostolical Canon, That no Man put a Stumbling-Block, or an Occasion to fall, in his Brother's Way, Rom. xiv. 13. Though Mr. N. sees no Necessity for either, because Ridicule and Ill-Manners may be sufficiently punished, without obliging all Men to be in the Fashion, or to go in the same Dress; but this is nothing to the History.*

When our Author was vindicating the Queen's Wisdom in retaining the Habits, he was pleased to argue from the great Numbers of Laity that were possessed in their Favour, but now he admits, that the English [i. e. the Protestant] Laity, were more averse to the Habits than the Clergy. Which Aversion he apprehends

Sad State of the Clergy at the Reformation.

Vindic.

p. 159.

p. 161.

p. 162.

hends “*was artfully and designedly raised in their Minds*
 “*by the Puritan Preachers, who ought to have quieted*
 “*the People, and told them they were MATTERS OF*
 “*INDIFFERENCE appointed by Authority; that it did*
 “*not belong to them to judge or condemn their Ministers or*
 “*Brethren, for obeying the Laws made to support the*
 “*Protestant Religion.*” Could not the Protestant
 Religion then be supported without the *Habits*? And
 does not this Writer know, that the Puritans of those
 Times were so far from esteeming them *Matters of*
Indifference, that they were in doubt for some Time,
 whether they ought not to desert their Ministry ra-
 ther than wear them? But Mr. N. is charged with
vindicating the Insults and Violences the conforming Clergy
met with from the Puritans; tho’ he has not writ a
 Syllable that can admir of such a Construction. His
 Words are these: “*The Protestant Populace were*
 “*so inflamed, that nothing but an awful Subjection*
 “*to Authority could have kept them within the*
 “*Church. Great Numbers refused to frequent those*
 “*Places of Worship where Service was minister’d*
 “*in that Dress. They would not salute such Mini-*
 “*sters in the Streets, nor keep them Company;*
 “*say, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift’s Defence*
 “*against Cartwright, they spit in their Faces, revil-*
 “*led them as they went along the Streets, and shew-*
 “*ed such like rude Behaviour.*” Is this a Vindica-
 tion or Commendation of their Conduct, or any
 more than a bare Narrative of Matter of Fact? But
 his Reader is desired to mark what follows; “*Because*
 “*they took them for Papists in disguise, for Time-servers,*
 “*and half-faced Protestants, that would be content with*
 “*the Return of that Religion whose Badge they wore.*”
 This is called a *rude and unbrotherly Reason*, and no
 better than the Product of Mr. N’s Invention, under the
 Cover of a Quotation. I have not *Whitgift’s Defence*
 before me, and therefore, lest the Quotation should
 be misplaced the inverted Comma’s shall be expunged.
 But this Writer must allow me to shew him, that

’tis

It is far from being an Invention of Mr. N's; and, that if the PROTESTANT POPULACE apprehended a very great Part of the conforming Clergy, for some Years after the Reformation, were no better than Papists in Disguise, Time-servers, and half-faced Protestants, that would have been content with the Return of that Religion whose Badge they wore, they were not mistaken; tho' it is no Vindication of their Rudeness and Ill-Manners. Our Author desires his Reader to remark the Charge, and to remember, that it was before the Year 1565. i. e. "Before the Queen had declared roundly, &c. and before the Bishops had explained away their Promises." Mr. N. joins in the same Request, and desires him now to attend the Proof.

"In the Reign of Queen MARY many Protestants (says Mr. Strype) partly out of Fear, and partly out of other Considerations, resorted to Mass, tho' they approved not of it, from this Principle, that their Bodies might be present so long as their Spirits did not consent." So that not a Tenth Person abode in God's Ways. And Mr. N. is of Opinion, that Mr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury was of this Number, because though he could not submit to the Tonsure, he not only kept his Place in the College throughout the whole Course of this Reign, but commenced Batchelor of Arts 1553-4. and was elected Fellow of Peter-House 1555. when he took a corporal Oath to observe all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College as much as in him lay; All which could not be done without some Compliance with the publick Worship, as well as a politick Concealment of his Opinions. From the same Principle most of the Popish Clergy afterwards complied with the Changes of Queen ELIZABETH, being Protestants in Appearance but Papists in Heart. Our Author admits, that at her Majesty's Accession, and even after Religion was restored to the same State as under King EDWARD, "The Universities were sorely tiredly lost, that there were scarce Two of the same

State of the Clergy at the Reformation. Mem. Cran. p. 363.

L. Whitgift. p. 4.

1. V. 100.

“ same Opinion with the Reformers.” “ You can
 “ scarce believe (says Bishop *Jewel*) so great a De-
 “ vastation could be made in so short a Time.”
 “ As to the Bishops and Clergy all over the Nation
 “ (Bishop *Cox* adds) they were unanimous for Pope-
 “ ry, firm as a Rock : *Stat Clerus totus*”

Vindic.
 p. 16.

“ *Tanquam dura fílex aut stet Marpesia cautes.*”

And yet Nineteen in Twenty of them complied with the Times. Mr. *Strype* speaking of the Subscription imposed upon all that had Ecclesiastical Preferments in the Church, writes, that “ *there were many* TEMPO-
 L. Parker, p. 77. “ RIZING PRIESTS *among them*, who had complied
 “ with all the Changes of the foregoing Reigns, some
 “ prevailed on others to subscribe for them, and the
 “ Word *VOLENS* in several Places is written, as if it
 “ was *NOLENS* *subscripti*.”

Strype's
 Ann. V. I.
 p. 178.

The same Historian adds, that “ the Bishops were
 “ forced to allow *many that had been Popish Priests*,
 “ *but now complied with the present Proceedings, to offi-*
 “ *ciate in Churches.*” “ Indeed a great Sort of these
 “ were Men of little Consciences (says he) and tho’
 “ they outwardly complied with the present Eccle-
 “ siastical Orders, and read the Common-Prayer,
 “ and subscribed to the Doctrine now professed, yet
 “ *inwardly they favoured Popery, and as much as they*
 “ *durst, would encourage their Parishioners to do the*
 “ *same.*”

Strype's
 Ann. V. I.
 p. 602.

In the Year 1569. Mr. *Strype* quotes the following Passage out of a Tract, which he suspects to be written by Secretary *Cecil*, “ *Popish Priests* still enjoy the
 “ great Ecclesiastical Livings without Recantation
 “ or Penance, yea, and in Simoniack Heaps ; Ca-
 “ thedral Churches are stuffed with them as Dens of
 “ Thieves ; the very Spies and Promoters of Queen
 “ *MARY's* Time, without change of their Opinions,
 “ are cherished, and mark Men against another Day.”
 Mr. *N.* could produce a Number of Testimonies of
 this

this Kind throughout the greatest part of this Reign, but *the Task is too disagreeable*; he will therefore only observe further, that this Writer himself admits, "most of the inferior beneficed Clergy kept their Places, and that there were only one Hundred Parochial Clergy displaced out of nine Thousand four Hundred Parochial Benefices." What then must the rest be? These are therefore no Inventions of Mr. N. but sad and lamentable Matters of Fact. The Populace were inflamed on both Sides, and from rude Language sometimes came to Blows. All the *disguised Papists* pleaded strenuously for the old Habits and Ceremonies, but the more scrupulous Ministers did not wear them constantly in their Ministrations, nor when they walked the Streets. This being a Mark of Distinction, gave Occasion to the Insolence of the Populace, which Mr. N. has never commended, but must condemn in all Parties whatsoever.

The Remainder of this Chapter is a Collection of *Rude Language of the Puritans censured.* severe and unbecoming Expressions of the Puritan Preachers against the Habits, and the conforming Clergy; as calling them *Papists in disguise, idle Drones, dumb Dogs, Popelings, massing Priests, petty Antichrists*, p. 165. which this Writer confesses Mr. N. has not conceal'd, and therefore is no Objection to his History. But the Protestant Dissenters have been forced to submit to as bad Language from the conforming Clergy in the late Reigns, without daring to complain. Angry and passionate Men among all Parties, will stir up Strife and Contention, which Mr. N. will never patronize. But surely 'tis possible to discountenance *Railing and Evil speaking* without oppressing the Innocent: The present Toleration of Protestant Dissenters is a sufficient Demonstration of this Truth.

C H A P. IV.

Our Author's further Vindication of the Government in inflicting sharp Punishments on the Puritans. Vindic. p. 180.

OUR Author goes on in his last Chapter, to vindicate the Queen's Government in inflicting *sharp Punishments* upon the Puritans [*i. e.*] *Hang- ing, Burning, Abjuration, Confiscation, Imprisonment, Loss of Estate, Liberty, and Life.* And Mr. N. is desired particularly to observe, *That the Dispute with him under this Head is not upon PRINCIPLES but upon FACTS*; and yet throughout this whole Chapter there is hardly a *Fact* about which we differ. Mr. N. says the Behaviour of the Puritans was peaceable and submissive, with regard to the *Civil Government* under which they lived; and this Writer has not found them in any Plot, nor convicted them of joining with the Queen's Enemies in any Act of Rebellion. He has spent a great many Pages in proving, that *their Writings against the HIERARCHY, &c. were sharp and provoking, and their Behaviour offensive.* And has Mr. N. denied it? Has he commended their intemperate Zeal for their Platform of Discipline, or their unmannerly Language to their Superiors? But if Mr. N. has not set the Failings of the Puritans in the strongest Light, this Writer has supplied the Defect, who without taking Notice of the many Provocations they received from the Bishops, or of their long and illegal Imprisonments attended with the Ruin of their numerous Families, has loaded their Principles which were no other than those now established in the *Church of Scotland*, with the most dangerous Consequences to the State; and their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church, as deserving the *sharp Punishments* inflicted upon them. The Lord High Chancellor KING would willingly have cast a Veil over these Proceedings, *which he looks upon as Spots and Blemishes in the Reign of that great and glorious Queen*, but this Writer will justify them

them to the World, which he may do without any Disturbance from Mr. N. who as an Historian has no Concern but with the Facts.

I shall only remark upon this Occasion, that it is no unusual Thing for arbitrary Governors to declare, that *Conscience exceeds its bounds*, when it does not yield an absolute Submission to *their Will and Pleasure*; and that it *grows into Faction* and Disloyalty, when it gives any Disturbance to their lawless Power; but it ought to be remember'd, that all those Puritans that suffered the Extremity of an unrighteous Law in this Reign, went out of the World with the strongest Professions of their dutiful Allegiance to the Queen, and earnest Prayers for the Prosperity of her Government. When Mr. Stubbs a Student of *Lincolns-Inn*, and Brother in Law to Mr. Cartwright, had his right Hand cut off with a Mallet and Cleaver, in the Midst of a Crowd of Spectators, for writing against her Majesty's marrying with a Papist, he pulled off his Hat with his left Hand, and cried with a loud Voice, *God save the Queen*; and afterwards proved a valiant and faithful Commander in her Armies. Mr. Barrowe and Greenwood gave such Testimonies of their Piety towards God, and Loyalty to the Queen, at the Place of Execution, and prayed so earnestly for her long and prosperous Reign, that when Dr. Raynolds reported their Behaviour, her Majesty was concerned that she had yielded to their Death. And even Penry the Brownist in his last solemn Protestation to the World declares, that

“ he prayed for the Queen every Day of his Life;
 “ that though he was to be hanged as a Felon or
 “ Traytor, Heaven and Earth should not convict
 “ him of it; and that whensoever he ended his Days
 “ he should die Queen ELIZABETH's faithful Subject,
 “ even in the Consciences of his Enemies. He then
 “ prays, that the Queen may have many such faithful Subjects as himself, but that they may not
 “ meet with such a Reward. All which (says he)

“ I subscribe with the Heart and Hand that pever
 “ devised, or writ any Thing to the Discredit or
 “ Defamation of my Sovereign Queen ELIZA-
 “ BETH.”

*Of Perse-
 cution for
 Conscience
 sake.*

*Vindic.
 p. 188.*

’Tis agreed by this Writer, that PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE *is a grievous Sin, highly injurious to our Fellow-Creatures, inconsistent with the Christian Institution, and greatly offensive to Almighty God.* But he adds, *This is no Part of the Dispute.* True, but the Dispute is, whether the Penal Laws against Protestant Dissenters in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, do not properly come under this Character. For Mr. N. is of Opinion, that *shutting Men up in Prison, and appointing them to Banishment and Death, for not coming to Church, or for Non-Conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies which they apprehend to be sinful, or for worshipping God in separate Assemblies, in a peaceable Manner, is PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE, highly injurious to our Fellow-Creatures, and greatly offensive to Almighty God.* And how far the Government in those Times can be acquitted of this Crime, shall be left with the Reader, after I have observed, that the Court of High Commission has the Ruin of many Families to answer for, only for their Non-Conformity; and that the Statute of the 35th ELIZABETH, cap. 1. has no other Title than this, *An Act for Punishment of Persons OBSTINATELY REFUSING COMING TO CHURCH, and persuading others to impugn the Queen’s Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes.* The Body of the Act mentions no other Crimes, but *not coming to Church or Chapel, or persuading others not to come, or being present at any unlawful Assembly or Conventicle, under Colour or Pretence of Religious Exercise.* “ All Persons offending in these
 “ Particulars are to be committed to Prison without
 “ Bail or Mainprize, till they conform. If they do
 “ not conform within three Months, they are to ab-
 “ jure the Realm, to go into Banishment, and forfeit
 “ all their Goods and Chattels for ever. And if they

“ refuse to abjure and depart, or return again with-
“ out Licence, they are adjudged Felons, and to
“ suffer as in Case of Felony, without Benefit of
“ Clergy.” ’Tis easy to call this by the Name of
Seaition and Disloyalty, as the *Rulers of the Synagogue*
did the Practice of the Apostles and Primitive Chri-
stians, but in the Opinion of all considerate Persons
it will be construed neither better nor worse, than
PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE; and ’tis ve-
ry remarkable, that there is a Proviso in this Statute,
That no POPISH RECUSANT shall be compelled or bound
to abjure, by virtue of this Act. Such was her Maje-
sty’s Tenderness for the *Papists*, while she was putting
to Death *Protestant Dissenters*!

But our Author contends, that *it was the provoking*
Behaviour of the Puritans that brought this upon them.
Could not the Government then punish Rudeness and ill
Manners, without making a Law *inconsistent with the*
Christian Institution, and greatly offensive to Almighty
God? If a Man gives abusive Language to his Supe-
riors, must he be hanged, unless he will go to Church?
What Relation have these Things to one another?
Let us then, for Arguments sake, admit all our Au-
thor’s Facts (*viz.*) that the Puritans, in their Wri-
tings, gave abusive Language to the Bishops, and
Judges, and that they glanced sometimes in a dis-
respectful Manner upon the Queen her self, for coun-
tenancing their Proceedings; that they exposed the
Imperfections of the Hierarchy established by Law,
and contended earnestly in their Writings and Peti-
tions to the Parliament, for a Form of Government,
not so desirable as the present, &c. will it follow
from hence, that *they, and all other Protestant Dis-*
senters, ought to be obliged to come to Church, or suffer
the sharp Punishments of Abjuration, Confiscation of
Goods, Loss of Estate, Liberty and Life, and be used
worse than House-breakers; or Felons at common Law;
that is, to be condemned to Death, without Benefit of
Clergy?

I am unwilling to take any Notice of the present Times, since these Grievances are in part removed, and there seems to have been a better Understanding between the Church and Dissenters for some Years past; but I must take the Liberty to inform this Gentleman and his Brethren, that the PROTESTANT DISSENTING LAITY of the present Age, who have the Welfare of their King and Country, and the Protestant Religion as much at Heart, as the most Loyal of his Majesty's Subjects, will never think themselves restored to the Rights of *English* Men, nor freed from the Yoke of penal Laws upon Conscience, till the Legislature in their great Wisdom shall find a proper Opportunity to deliver them from these three Hardships under which they labour. *First*, From the Incapacity of serving their King and Country in Civil Offices, without taking the Sacrament with the Church of *England*. *Secondly*, From the Prosecutions of the *Spiritual Courts*, for teaching their Children at School more than the *English* Language. *Thirdly*, From the Hardship of being chosen into Offices, which they cannot in Conscience qualify themselves for, nor yet be admitted to a Fine; but must lie open to the Pains and Penalties of a Premunire; as is the Case of the Sheriffs of Counties.

Our Author concludes his Performance with an imperfect Quotation from Mr. *Rapin*, "The Presbyterians (says *Rapin*) think they have reason to complain of the Statute in this Reign, which debarred them of Liberty of Conscience though Protestants. But I shall not, adds he, take upon me to determine, whether they had Reason to complain of this Rigor —" Here our Author stops; but it follows, "I shall content my self with saying, that in my Opinion, they [the Puritans] were a little too obstinate, and their Adversaries a little too uncharitable." And Mr. N. is pretty much of the same Mind.

I have now made all the Remarks which are necessary upon *this Performance*, and leave the Reader to judge, whether Mr. N. has injured the Character of Queen ELIZABETH, or the *Doctrine, Government, and Worship of the Church of England established in her Reign*. I think it has appeared that her Majesty had a greater Tenderness for the Papists than the Puritans, and inclined more to the Pomp of *Rome* than the Simplicity of *Geneva*; but I have no where said, that her Heart was entirely *Popish*; this is our Author's peculiar Thought. King EDWARD VI. was more properly the FOUNDER of the Doctrine, Government, and Worship, of the Church of *England*, than the great Queen ELIZABETH, but his immature Death prevented his bringing it to the Perfection he intended; the Queen was for reducing Things to her Brother's Standard, but her Heart was so set upon State and Magnificence in Religion, that instead of returning to King EDWARD's last reformed Liturgy, in the fifth Year of his Reign, she restored the *first*, and would never afterwards through a long Course of Forty four Years Reign, reform the *Discipline* of the Church, which was so much desired, and which her Brother most certainly intended. It can therefore be no Injury to the Memory of this great Princess to say, that her Reformation hardly came up to her Brother's Standard. But no Historian that I have met with before this Writer, has been so hardy as to affirm, that *there were no penal Laws made against meer Non-Conformists in her Time, nor any Persecution for Conscience sake*; when almost all the Fines, Imprisonments, Confiscation of Goods, Banishments, &c. which the Puritans underwent in this and the two next Reigns, to the Beginning of the Civil Wars, were grounded upon the unlimited Power of the Supremacy, the Court of High Commission, the Act of the 35th ELIZABETH, and other Articles and Injunctions of the Bishops of these Times. After the Restoration of King Charles II. the
penal

17 Car. II.
cap. 2.

penal Laws of Queen ELIZABETH were revived, and fortified with others, against the seditious Conventicles of Protestant Dissenters, whereby numberless Fines were levied upon the unhappy Sufferers, to the Ruin of them and their Families; many Non-Conformist Ministers were separated from their Friends by the *five Mile Act*; some perished in Prison, and others were forced to remove into the Plantations. Nor is this any Reflection upon the present Church of *England*, which has, in a great Measure, renounced the persecuting Principles of those Times; nor upon the Legislature, which has repealed several of those Laws. The Act of Toleration mentions expressly the Act of the 35th ELIZABETH, and exempts the Protestant Dissenters from the Penalties of it; which it would not have done, if it had been designed against any but meer Non-Conformists. 'Tis also declared, in the Preamble of the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, that *Persecution for Conscience only*, is directly contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; and, that the Act of Toleration ought to be inviolably preserved."

But after all that can be said to excuse or justify the Proceedings of Queen ELIZABETH, it must (I think) be allowed, that the Puritans had *very hard Measure in her Time*, and that great Numbers of them suffered for meer Non-Conformity. Indeed they made several vigorous Attempts for a Reformation of the Hierarchy; and when it appeared after Twenty or Thirty Years, that her Majesty was inflexible and their Cause desperate, some few of the more Zealous gave a Loose to their Passions, and exposed the Bishops and their Spiritual Courts in a rude and disrespectful Manner, by *Pasquils* and *Satyirical Pamphlets*; but this was far from being the Act of the Body of Non-subscribing Puritans; no, they disallowed and condemned them; nor did any Number of them plot against the

the Queen or State, or desert the Government in the Time of the *Northern Rebellion*, or the *Spanish Invasion*. No considerable Number of their Clergy separated from the Established Church, but held Communion with it as far as their Consciences would admit. When they were suspended by their *Ordinary* they lived in silence, till by length of Time, or the Interest of some powerful Friends, they were restored; when such as were Lecturers only, were driven out of one Diocese they retired into another, where they might have an Opportunity of Preaching the Gospel. In a Word, the Puritans were a pious, zealous, and well meaning People, sound Protestants, and faithful Subjects to the Queen and State, though of narrow and mistaken Principles in some Things. There were among them restless angry and ungovernable Spirits, whom *Oppression had made almost mad*. But even the *BROWNISTS*, against whom the Act of the 35th ELIZABETH was more peculiarly levell'd, and who suffered most severely by it, for worshiping God privately in separate Assemblies, were not guilty of *Sedition* or *Rebellion*, unless refusing to come to Church, or exposing the Conduct of the Bishops and their Spiritual Courts be so construed; I appeal therefore to the common Sense and Reason of Mankind, whether they ought to have been punished for *those Crimes*; or, whether the *sharp Punishments* they underwent as *Dissenters*, bore any Proportion to their Failings. “*If these are Speech at*
“*wholesome Severities* (says the Lord Chancellor *Dr. Sache-*
“*King*) *let humane Nature determine; but I believe,* *verel's*
“*(says his Lordship)* *that there is not one Person here* *Trial, Fol.*
“*[among the Lords and Commons of Great Britain]* *81, 290,*
“*but if these Severities were to be inflicted on himself,*
“*would be far from thinking them wholesome, and desire*
“*to be excused from them.*”



APPENDIX.



THE Design of our Author's *Appendix* is to detect some of those *false Quotations* and *Mistakes* in the *History of the Puritans*, which he could not without too much Interruption, mention in the former Part of his Work. Those which appear to be so shall be taken Notice of and corrected at the Close of these Papers, together with some others that he has overlooked. But it will appear presently, that the Chief of this Writer's *Exceptions*, are Mistakes of his own, arising in part from Inadvertency, and partly from too superficial an Acquaintance with the Historians of those Times; for surely, no Man ever set up for a *Censor* and *Critick* upon a more slender Bottom. *The Number of the Mistakes* (he says) *might have been considerably encreased*; it would then have been more kind to have given Mr. N. an Opportunity to correct them, unless they are of as little Importance and Credit as those he has mentioned. His Reader is desired further to observe, that Mr. N's *Mistakes* [*i. e.* those he has taken Notice of] *are in one strain* (*viz.*) *to blacken the Establishment*; which is a Specimen of our Author's great Charity and deep Penetration. He has selected what Mistakes he pleases, and then tells us, they are *in one strain, to blacken the Government.*

But

But Mr. N. is content, that the Reader should make what Remarks he pleases, for he is very sure, he never had a Design to make Queen ELIZABETH's Government a jot whiter or blacker than it really was; nor is he unwilling that the hidden Works of Darkness of all Parties should be brought to Light; but as he is only on the Defensive at present, and does not contend for Victory but Truth, he thinks it sufficient to set before the Reader a few of this Writer's too hasty Reflections, and point him to some of those Authorities by which the contested Facts are supported; overlooking those which he apprehends of little Consequence, as the first and second, and several others.

Mr. N. says, *That John Wickliffe was born at* Append. P. 298. Hist. Pur. p. 3.
Wickliffe in Yorkshire about the Year 1324. and was
educated in Queen's College, Oxford, where he was
Divinity Professor. But Mr. Fuller affirms, That we
can give no Account of Wickliffe's Birth or Parentage
— that he was Graduate of Merton College, and that the
Professorship of Divinity was not founded till the Reign of
King Henry VIII. and that Wickliffe's Opinions were
like the Stones in Salisbury Plain, no Two can count
them alike.

What pity it is this Writer had not seen the very Lewis's L. Wickliffe, p. 8, 18, &c.
 valuable Life of *Wickliffe*, published by the Reverend
 Mr. Lewis of Meregate, 1720. which begins thus;
 “ *John de Wickliffe* was born, very probably, about
 “ the Year 1324. in the Parish of *Wickliffe*, near
 “ *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, and was first admitted Com-
 “ moner of *Queens College Oxford*, then newly
 “ founded by *Robert Eggesfield*, S. T. B. but was
 “ soon after removed to *Merton College*, where he
 “ was first Probationer, and afterwards Fellow.”
 The same ingenious Author tells us, that he was
 advanced to the Professors Chair, 1372. (which was
 almost 140 Years before King *Henry VIII.* was born)
 and has taken a great deal of Pains to free the Op-
 nions of *Wickliffe* from the Inconsistency that *Melan-*

Elbon and some others, have charged them with. It appears by this Writer, as well as by the *Catalogus Testium*, that he was for rejecting all humane Rites, and new Shadows or Traditions [in Religion] — and with regard to the Identity of the Order of Bishops and Priests in

Trial. Lib. the Apostolick Age, he is very positive, “Unum audacter
IV. cap. 15. “*asserero* — one Thing I boldly assert, that in the
L. Wick- “Primitive Church or in the Time of the Apostle
liffe, “*Paul*, two Orders of Clergy were thought suffi-
p. 391. “cient, viz. Priest and Deacon; and I do also say,
See also “that in the Time of *Paul*, fuit idem Presbyter atque
Pierce’s “*Episcopus*, a Priest and a Bishop were one and the
Vindic. “same; for in those Times the distinct Orders of
p. 4, 5, 6 “Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Bi-
 “shops, Arch-Deacons, Officials and Deans, were
 “not invented.” I could produce more Passa-
 ges to shew *Wickliffe’s* Agreement with the Puri-
 tans, but the Gentleman is to be excused this Obje-
 ction, because he knew nothing beyond *Fuller*.

p. 299. Mr. N. says, *The true Cause of Cromwell’s Fall was, the Share he had in the King’s Marriage with Lady Anne of Cleves, but Bishop Burnet directly contradicts this.* Let the Reader judge; his Words are these,

Hist. Ref. “An unfortunate Marriage, to which he advised
Vol. III. “the King, not proving acceptable; and he being
p. 172. “unwilling to destroy what himself had brought about
 “— was the Occasion of his Disgrace and Destru-
 “ction.” If his Lordship has contradicted this in
 any other Place (which I apprehend he has not) he
 must answer for it himself.

Vindic. There were some Psalms, and a Paraphrase on the
p. 199. Lord’s Prayer, at the End of the Litany, but (says our
H. Pur. Author) there were none such. On the contrary, Bi-
p. 39. shop Burnet says expressly, “To this [the Litany] are
Hist. Ref. “added some Exercises of Devotion, called Psalms,
Vol. III. “and then follows a Paraphrase on the Lord’s
p. 164. “Prayer.”
p. 300.
Hist. Pur.

p. 47. Mr. N’s Titles [of the Homilies] real Titles.
Hist. Ref. They are not Mr. N’s Titles but Bishop Burnet’s
Vol. II. *verbatim.*
p. 27. Mr.

Mr. N. says, *The Act concerning the Admission of Vindic.*
Bishops into their Sees sets forth, that the Manner of choo- p. 301.
sing Bishops by a Congé d'Esire being but the Shadow of *Hist. Pur.*
an Election, all Bishops hereafter shall be appointed by the *p. 50.*
King's Letters Patents, and shall continue the Exercise of
their Jurisdiction durante beneplacito, or durante vita
naturali, si tam diu se bene gesserint. " 'Tis a Cran.
 " strange Liberty (says our Author) that this Gen- Mem.
 " tleman takes with the Laws of his Country; is p. 142.
 " there a Word like this in the Statute, or in Bishop
 " Burnet's Abridgment? —" The Case is this;
 Bishop Burnet says, " The Way of choosing Bishops *Hist. Ref.*
 " by a Congé d'Esire being but the Shadow of an Vol. II.
 " Election, it was ordained, that for Time to come p. 43.
 " they should be made by the King's Letters Patents."
 Which Letters Patents had been granted hitherto only
durante beneplacito, but by this Act the softening Clause
 of *quam diu se bene gesserint* was inserted in the room of
 the former, which amounted to just nothing; for (says
 Mr. Collyer) " It is plain the Bishops throughout the *Eccl. Hist.*
 " whole Course of King Edward's Reign were upon Vol. II.
 " their good Behaviour for their Office; they had p. 218,
 " the express Clause of *quam diu se bene gesserint* in 219.
 " their Patents, and were not enabled to hold them
 " during Life. When therefore Bishop Burnet says,
 " the precarious Grant of *durante beneplacito* was on-
 " ly to serve the Necessity of the Juncture, and that
 " it was afterwards altered; the *beneficium* being
 " omitted, and the Bishops enabled to hold their
 " Sees during Life, 'tis evident (says Mr. Collyer)
 " both from the Body of his History, and his Re-
 " cords, that Matters were not thus mended —"
 Is not this something like what Mr. N. had said?

Mr. N. adds in the same Page, *One of the first Pa- Vindic.*
tents, with this Clause is that of Dr. Barlow, — But p. 301.
all the rest of the Bishops afterwards took out Letters Pa-
tents with the same Clause; whereas Bishop Burnet, in
the Seventh (it should be the Fourth) of the King's Reign,
says, that Ridley and Thirlby were made Bishops after
the

Strype's Ecc. Mem. Vol. II. p. 216. the common Form, DURING LIFE — It appears by the Register, that *Ridley* was translated to the Bishoprick of *London* by *Letters Patents* without a *Congé d'Eslire*, which *Letters Patents*, says *Bishop Burnet*, began with mentioning the Vacancy of the See by Death or Removal, upon which the King appoints such an one Bishop during his natural Life, or SO LONG AS HE SHALL BEHAVE HIMSELF WELL, giving him Power to ordain and deprive Ministers, &c. and to do all the Parts of the Episcopal Function in the King's Name and Authority, which Mr. N. conceives could not be according to the common Form, nor absolutely during Life, and this continued throughout this whole Reign.

Vindic. p. 301, 302. Mr. N. goes on, "In this the Archbishop [*Cranmer*] had a principal Hand, for it was his Judgment, that the Exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince, and that as he gave it, he might restrain it, or take it away at his Pleasure." This Assertion (says our Critick) is supported by no Quotation, and yet Mr. N. affirms in his Preface, he has cited his Authorities in the Margin. Admirable Logick! But the Gentleman shall now be gratified, "It was his [Archbishop *Cranmer's*] Judgment (says Mr. *Strype*) that the Exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince, and that as he gave it, so he might restrain it at his Pleasure."

Vindic. p. 302. In the next Page Mr. N. says, That by this Law Causes concerning Wills and Marriages were removed into the Courts of Westminster Hall; whereas they were to be tried still in the same Court, but only in the King's Name. This I apprehend to be right, and have therefore placed it among the Corrections.

Hist. Pur. p. 53. Mr. N. has mistaken the Communion Offices published 1548, 1549. No Mistake of Mr. N's, but agreeable to *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 63, 64.

Vindic. p. 304. The worst Part of the Account Mr. N. gives of the Disputes about the VESTMENTS, is the rude and uncharitable Censure he passes on those Divines that were willing

to make the Communion of the Church as extensive as they could. He describes them in this Manner; "Those Divines that had stayed in England, and weathered the Storm of King HENRY's Tyranny by a politick Compliance, and Concealment of their Opinions: For this Language he quotes no Author." For what Language? However the Language is Mr. Fuller's, and let this Writer mark it; "The Founders of Conformity Ch. Hist. were such as remained here all the Reign of King B. VII. HENRY VIII. and weathered out the Tempest of P. 402. his Tyranny at open Sea, partly by A POLITICK COMPLIANCE, and partly by a CAUTIOUS CONCEALMENT OF THEMSELVES. These in the Days of King EDWARD VI. were possessed of the best Preferments in the Land, and retained many Ceremonies practised in the Romish Church."

Mr. N. says, *The Oath Bishop Hooper refused was the Oath of Supremacy; but Mr. Fuller conceives it to be the Oath of Canonical Obedience.* This learned Gentleman might have known, that Mr. Fuller was convinced of his Mistake. The Oath which Hooper stuck at (says Mr. Collyer) was the Oath of Supremacy, and not that of Canonical Obedience as is commonly supposed. Mr. Fuller had gone into the vulgar Error, in his Church History, but having considered better of it, he corrected it in his *Book of Worthies* [Somerſetſhire]. And that this was the Case (says he) appears by Cranmer's objecting the Danger of a *Præmunire*; for the bare dispensing with the Oath of Canonical Obedience had no such Penalty annexed; but if Hooper had been consecrated without swearing the Supremacy, this Omission might have brought the Archbishop under a *Præmunire*.

Mr. N. adds, *In which Time the Matter was in some Sort compromised with Bp. Hooper.* So says Dr. Heylin expressly, *Hist. Presbyt.* p. 242. and Dr. Wells. And was it not a Compromise according to Bishop Burnet, when he was to be dispensed with wearing the Habits, except when he preached before the King or in his Cathed-

Pierce's
Vindic.
p. 30.

Cathedral, or in any publick Place, but was to be dispensed with on other Occasions. However, this was not the Case, according to Mr. Fox in his Martyrology, who says, "He was constrained to appear once in publick attired after the Manner of other Bishops, which unless he had done, some think there was a Contrivance to take away his Life; for his Servant told me (says Mr. Fox) that the Duke of Suffolk sent such Word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant what was doing."

Vindic.
p. 306.
Hist. Pur.
p. 71.

Mr. N. says, *Most of the reformed Clergy were with Hooper in this Controversy.* And so he says still; nor can all the Management of this Writer disprove it. But 'tis no less than ridiculous to conclude, that because Hooper consented to wear the Habits on some Occasions, therefore he was a Conformist in Opposition to a Puritan, or because Coverdale, Taylor, Philpot, and Bradford died Members of the Church, and continued beneficed in it, therefore they approved of the Habits; for by the same Way of Reasoning he might prove at once there were no Puritans at all till the Separation.

Vindic.
p. 307.

Our Author maintains, that *the Habits put upon Cranmer, Ridley, &c. at their Degradation, were the Popish Habits — not those retained in the reformed Church of England, which were distinguished from the other; and that the Dislike they expressed at their Degradation was to the Popish Habits.* This is remarkably curious! How then were the Protestant Habits distinguished from the Popish? Was the Protestant Cope or Albe of a distinct Fashion? or, Did the Surplice in King EDWARD's Reign differ from the Surplice in King HENRY's?

Vindic.
p. 90.

Yes, says our Author, for *the former were not consecrated with Prayer, Crossings, and Sprinkling with Holy Water, as the Popish Vestments were. 'Twas the Surplice only that could in any Sense be called POPISH — and even this had not the Crucifix and Crosses, which were embroidered on the Popish Garments.* Were all the Surplices, Copes and Albes then, throughout the Kingdom, embroidered

in

in this manner in the Reign of King HENRY? Or, if the *Embroidery* had been taken off from a consecrated Surplice, would the indelible Character have gone with it? Mr. *Strype* says, when Archbishop *Cranmer* was degraded, they apparell'd him in all the Garments and Ornaments of an Archbishop only in Mockery; every Thing was in *Canvas* and old *Clouts*; but if the *Canvas* and old *Clouts* had not been consecrated and crossed, might it not be thought he was degraded of the Protestant Garments rather than the Popish? Was it an embroidered Surplice that Bishop *Ridley* refused to put on; and which he inveighed vehemently against at his Degradation? Was it a Popish or Protestant Surplice that was taken off from Bishop *Latimer* at his Degradation? when he said, *Now I can make no more Holy Water*? Or, from Dr. *Taylor*, when he said, *Now I am rid of a Fool's Coat*? These important Questions must be resolved, before our Author's Distinction between *Protestant* and *Popish Vestments* will be admitted.

Mr. *N.* says, *Bucer gave his Opinion against the Habits*, as INVENTIONS OF ANTICHRIST. — Now, as a Proof of Mr. *N.*'s Manner of writing (says he) the Reader shall have the Words of Bishop *Burnet* — Does Mr. *N.* then quote Bishop *Burnet*? No, but he refers to *Bucer's* own Words, in his Letter to *Hooper*, as cited by Mr. *Collyer*, “ Another Argument why he [Bucer] would have the Habit for holy Ministration altered, is, because 'tis much the same with that used in the Church of *Rome*, which he generally salutes by the Name of ANTICHRIST — ” The *London Non-subscribing Ministers* add, “ that *Bucer* declared he would be content to suffer some great Pain in his own Body, upon condition the contested Ceremonies might be taken away — ” “ That no Man will earnestly strive to maintain them, but such as are open Enemies to Christ, or Backsliders from him.” And in his Letter to a Friend,

Friend, writ Jan. 12th 1550. he has these Words,
Scito hic neminem extraneum de putitate Rituum roga-
vi, tamen ex nobis uti possumus, officio nostro non desu-
mus scriptis & coram. No foreign Divines here [at
 Cambridge] have been consulted about the Purity of
 Ceremonies, but we bear our Testimony, as often as
 we can, in Writings and otherwise. And with this
 Account Dr. Haylin agrees.
 Mr. N. says, The Articles were not brought into Par-
 liament, nor agreed upon in Convocation. This is entirely
 confuted by Bishop Wake. It may be so; but Bishop
 Burnet says expressly the contrary; and Mr. Collyer
 adds, that 'tis pretty plain they were passed by some
 Members of Convocation only, delegated by both
 Houses, as appears by the very Title, Articles,
 &c. agreed upon in the Synod of London, by the Bi-
 shops, and certain other learned Men. What Mr. N. relates concerning the Articles belonged
 only to the Catechism. On the contrary, Bishop Bur-
 net says, In the first Impression of the Articles the
 Catechism is printed before them. So this is to
 be understood of the whole Book.
 A Passage was left in the Preface of one of their Service
 Books, that they had gone as far as they could in reforming
 the Church, considering the Times they lived in, and hoped
 they that came after them would, as they might, do more.
 Mr. N. has not had an Opportunity to examine this
 Quotation, nor does he lay any Stress upon it; but
 he transcribed it from Mr. Peirce's *Vindication*, p. 11.
 where it is to be found *verbatim*, with his Authority;
 and in *Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation*, p. 50.
 Mr. Strype intimates, that a farther Reformation was
 intended [Mem. Cran. p. 299.] And Bishop Burnet
 adds, that "in many of the Letters to the foreign
 Divines 'tis asserted, that both *Crammer* and *Ridley*
 intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Ha-
 bits." So that whether the Passage be in the
 Book or no, the Fact is so notorious, that if King

EDWARD

EDWARD had lived, he would have made further Amendments in the Hierarchy of the Church, that I know not of one single Historian that disputes in.

Mr. N. introduces BUCER as proposing the Habits to be laid aside in the Year 1553. when he had told us, they were already laid aside in the Year 1552. Mr. N. knew very well, that Bucer died in 1551. but he was then giving a Summary of the Changes in King EDWARD's Reign, and therefore introduced Bucer as the King's great Confident and Counsellor in these Affairs. And though Bishop Burnet says, the most material Things to which Bucer excepted were corrected afterwards, yet they that will be at the Pains to read over the Abstract of his Book, entituled, *Of the Kingdom of Christ*, in Caltyer's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 296, &c. must be of another Mind.

Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the Liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger — This groundless Story Mr. N. mentions, without the least Appearance of Distrust, though the Author from whence he took it calls it an improbable Report. But Mr. N. is not obliged to be always of the Opinion of Mr. Strype; for Mr. Peirce, a Writer of no less Learning and Integrity, who had examined into this Affair, says, he could see no Reason to question the Truth of it, and the rather, because it was one of Cox's Side [who was for the Service Book] that reported it upon his own Knowledge, and not upon the Testimony of BULLINGER, as is plain to him who looks into the Book it self, Peirce's *Vindic.* p. 12, 13. See also *Troubles of Frankfort*, p. 82. Mr. Bennet adds, That Cranmer was not the only Man, *Qui fatebatur multa detracta oportere superflua, & ardentibus votis cupiebat ea in melius correctâ*, That confessed that there were many superfluous Things in the Book that ought to be taken out, and earnestly wished it might have some further Amendment.

Vindic.

p. 312.

Hist. Par.

p. 96.

Strype's

Ann. V. I.

p. 143.

Cran.

Mem.

p. 347.

Mr. N. says, *It is said that Cardinal Pole was for gentler Methods of Instruction and Persuasion WHICH IS VERY DOUBTFUL.* — Doubtful, with whom (says this Writer) but such as are unwilling to allow any good Qualities in an Adversary. Men so different as Mr. Collyer, Rapin, Fuller, and Bishop Burnet, agree in giving him a good Character — but the History of the Puritans would not imitate such an Example, nor suffer the Cardinal's known Merit to pass, though no Authority is quoted, nor any Reason given. Unhappy Mr. N. who can never please this Writer! One while he is chastised for commending a Speech of a Popish Archbishop [Heath], a Man of good Temper, and in such Esteem with Queen ELIZABETH, that she visited him in his Retirement. Now he is reproached in a very ungenerous Manner, for being too severe upon the Memory of Cardinal POLE, though he had admitted [p. 118.] *he was a Clergyman of too much Temper for the Times he lived in.* But it seems, he has spoiled all, by admitting it was doubtful; Doubtful! (says our Critick) *with none but such as are unwilling to allow any good Qualities in an Adversary.* This it seems is the Historian's Character! But since Mr. N. can't allow himself the Liberty of returning such Language, he must beg leave to take some Company with him, and set before the Reader the Grounds of his Doubts, in the very Words of Mr. Strype; "In these Instructions (says he) [given to the Clergy] there are several Strictures that make it appear, POLE was not so gentle towards the Hereticks as was reported, but rather the contrary. and that he went hand in hand with the bloody Bishops of these Days; for it is plain, that he put the Bishops upon proceeding with them [the Protestants] according to the sanguinary Laws lately revived, and put in full Force and Virtue. What an Invention was that of his, a kind of Inquisition by him set up, wherein the Names

" of

“ of all such were to be written that were not well
 “ affected to Popery — And indeed after *Pole’s* craft-
 “ ty and zealous Management of this Reconciliation,
 “ [with *Rome*] all that good Opinion that Men had
 “ before of him vanished, and they found themselves
 “ much mistaken in him, insomuch that People
 “ spoke against him as bad as of the Pope himself,
 “ or the worst of his Cardinals — Indeed he had
 “ frequent Conferences with the Protestants about
 “ *Justification by Faith alone*, &c. and would often
 “ wish the true Doctrine might prevail; but now
 “ the Mask was taken off, and he shewed himself
 “ what he was.” More of this Prelate’s known Me-
 rit, and gentle Methods of Instruction, may be seen in
Strype’s Life of Whitgift, who says, “ He was wholly *L. white*
 “ Italianized, and returned into England endued with a gift, p. 6.
 “ Nature foreign and fierce, and was THE VERY BUT-
 “ CHER AND SCOURGE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.”
 Mr. N. hopes this is sufficient to justify his doubting of
 the Character of this politick Cardinal.

Mr. N. says, *Some of the Collects were a little altered*; Vindic.
 but this Writer says, *there were none alter’d*; expres- p. 320.
 ly contrary to Bishop Burnet, *History of the Reforma-* Hist. Pur.
tion, Vol. II. p. 390. p. 139.

Dr. Guest, *Bishop of Rochester*, writ against the Vindic.
Ceremonies to Secretary Cecil, for this Mr. N. quotes his p. 323.
MS. — but this Letter is so far from being against the Hist. Pur.
Liturgy, that it was designedly wrote in Vindication of it. p. 194.
 I beseech the Reader to compare Mr. N’s Abstract
 with this valuable Letter in *Strype’s Annals*, Vol. I. *Strype’s*
Appendix, p. 38. which exactly corresponds with the Ann. V. I.
 Manuscript; and if I am not misinform’d, was co- Append.
 pied from it with his own hand. The Bishop was p. 38.
 desired by the Secretary to compare both King Ed- No XIV.
 ward’s Communion-Books together, and amend and
 alter, add, and take away, according to his Judgment,
 and so to frame a Book for the Use of the Church,
 which he did, and conveyed it to the Secretary,
 with

with the Reasons for his Amendments and Alterations. In this Letter he answers, among others, the following Questions of the Secretary. Q. I. *Whether Ceremonies once taken away, as ill used, may be resumed?* A. They should not be taken again [or resumed] though they be not evil of themselves, but might be well used, and this for four Reasons, which follow, and are mentioned in the *History of the Puritans*. Q. II. *Whether the Image of the Cross may not be retained?* A. Euphantius cut in pieces a Cloth in the Church, whereon was painted the Image of Christ, or some Saint, because it was contrary to the Scriptures; and counselled the Bishops to command, that no Cloths with Images should be set up in the Church, calling it a Superstition. Q. IV. *Whether in the Celebration of the Communion, Priests should not use a COPE besides a SURPLICE?* A. No, because if we should use another Garment, it should seem to teach that higher, and better Things were given by it, than be given by the other Services of Prayer, Baptism, or Hearing the Word. Q. VIII. *Whether the Prayer of Consecration in the first Communion-Book [of King EDWARD] should be continued?* A. It is to be disliked. Q. X. *Whether the Sacrament were to be received STANDING or KNEELING?* A. It appears that in the Primitive Church Christ's Body was received standing, but though this was the old Usage of the Church, he apprehends it should be left indifferent to every one's Choice to receive either standing or kneeling. It is evident from hence, that Bishop Guest was for further Amendments to both King EDWARD'S Liturgies. He was against the Use of the Cope, &c. and thought one Garment [the Surplice] sufficient for all Church Administrations. He disliked the Cross, and all Images in Churches, and was for leaving the Posture of the Communion indifferent. Is not this writing against the Imposition of these Ceremonies, though it did not please the Queen and

APPENDIX.

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Parliament to comply with his Amendments? I admit, that his Lordship was for complying with the Commands of the Prince in Things indifferent, for the Sake of Order and good Policy; and vindicated his Conformity upon this foot; but it will hardly follow from hence, that he approved of the Ceremonies above-mentioned. However, it seems, it was not for our Author's Purpose to take Notice of this Letter, which Mr. *Strype* says he transcribed from the Original, though it was before him in the Margin.

Mr. N. says, *Dr. Humphreys had no Preferment in Vindic. the Church till after ten or twelve Years, when he submitted to the Habits.* Here again (says our Author) *we have the MS. quoted, though it is effectually confuted by Mr. STRYPE.* Who can answer for Mr. *Strype's* contradicting himself within the Compass of twenty or thirty Lines; for in the Place cited by our Author, he begins with saying, *Humphreys* was tolerated for ten or eleven Years after the Year 1565. that is, till the Year 1576. and at the Close of the same Paragraph he adds, *in five Years after [the Year 1565.] he became Dean of Gloucester.* But this was only a slip of the honest Man's Memory, which our acute Critick should not have taken Advantage of. Let us hear him therefore in other Places: In his Annals of the Year 1576. he writes thus, "Now [in the Year 1576. *Strype's* which was more than ten or twelve Years after Ann. V. II. "He had been Professor of Divinity in Oxford] was p. 451. "Dr. *Laurence Humphreys* advanced to the Deanry of Gloucester, by means of the Lord Treasurer, and upon his Motion at length persuaded to wear the Habits." Does not this correspond exactly with the MS? And that his Loss of Preferment to this Time was owing to his puritanical Principles, is evident to a Demonstration, from the Testimony of Lord *Burleigh* and Mr. *Strype*, whose Words are *Strype's* these, "In the latter End of the Year 1576. he Ann. V. I. " [Lord p. 472.

“ [Lord Burleigh] did *Humphreys* the Honour to write
 “ to him, hinting that HIS NON-CONFORMITY SEEM-
 “ ED TO BE THE CHIEF IMPEDIMENT OF HIS PRE-
 “ FERMENT, *the Queen and some other honourable Per-*
 “ sons at Court, considering him as forgetful of his Duty in
 “ disobeying her Injunctions.” How little Ground
 then had this Writer to appeal to Mr. STRYPE, and
 to remark in the same Breath, “ *the Reader must*
 “ pay little regard to Mr. N’s Lamentations, or to his
 “ Manuscript, when he observes, that he complains;
 “ that this Gentleman, Dr. Humphreys, was denied
 “ Preferment for his puritanical Principles.” Is not
 this rather a Confirmation of the Manuscript?

Vindic.

p. 328,

329.

Hist. Pur.

p. 220.

The Puritans esteemed it a noble Victory, that they
could preach by virtue of a Bull from ANTICHRIST; as
they called the Pope. If Mr. N. was a Missionary, and
 could spread the Christian Faith, by virtue of a Li-
 cence from the Pope, or the Grand Seignior, or the Em-
 peror of China in their Dominions, he would not scrup-
 le to accept it, but be thankful to Divine Provi-
 dence that had open’d such a Door. Would the Prote-
 stants in France have shut up their Church Doors, if
 the Anti-Christian Powers would have given them
 a Licence to keep them open? Nay, would they not
 have preached without any Licence at all, if they
 had not been dragoon’d out of the Country? What
 a Protestant Divine is this! And at the same Time
 how unhappy! Who, while he imagines himself
 bantering the Puritans for claiming Privilege from
 the Pope, did not know that this very Grant of Pope
Alexander VI. was confirmed to the University by
 Letters Patents from Queen ELIZABETH her self; a
 Copy of which he may see in the Appendix to Mr.
Strype’s Life of Parker, p. 69.

The Authorities for the few remaining Articles of
 our Author’s Appendix, which relate to Facts, may
 be seen among the marginal Additions, and the Mi-
 stakes among the Corrections; but it would tire the
 Reader.

Reader's Patience, and answer no valuable Purpose, to examine them severally in this manner; especially, considering that most of them are groundless, and some very trifling, and of no Consequence to the Credit of the History. The Exclamations, and satirical Excursions which adorn every Page of the *Appendix*, and are level'd chiefly at the Abilities and Integrity of the Historian, Mr. N. can easily forgive, and every considerate Reader will pass over with neglect, as having no relation to the Argument. But by the Specimen I have given, it sufficiently appears, what an extraordinary Critick Mr. N. has to deal with, and what degree of Credit is to be given to his bold Assertions. When Mr. N's *Index* and *Margin* fails, the Gentleman is lost, and immediately alarms his Reader with an Outcry of *Treachery* and *Falshood*; but such Compliments might as well have been spared, by one who seems to have had no very long or familiar Acquaintance with the Writers of these Times. The Characters of Archbishop *Parker* and *Whitgift*, which give him so much Offence, are not taken from the flattering Encomiums of their *Biographers*, but from a deliberate Consideration of the Facts upon Record: Let the Reader put them together and form his own Judgment. Upon the whole, if Mr. N. has fallen short of the *Accuracy* and *Impartiality* of an Historian, he is humbly of Opinion, that it has not appear'd by this Writer's Performance, who has wasted a great deal of Ink and Paper in combating with his own Shadow, without disproving the MAIN FACTS of the History, or the Author's REMARKS, who has no further Concern with the *Principles and Discipline of the Puritans*, or with those of the Church of England, than to set them both in a fair Light; if he has failed in this, it is from his own Weakness, and not from any Prejudice in favour of either of the Schemes, any further than they affect the glorious Cause of Christian Liberty, and the Rights of Conscience. Much Pains indeed has

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been

been taken by this Gentleman, to represent Mr. N. to the World, as an angry, morose and uncharitable Writer; a Man of narrow Principles, and in a dangerous Design against the Peace of the Church and State; but such ungenerous Reflections will return one Time or other with weight upon the Author. Mr. N's Character is in no great danger of suffering by them; and if after so severe a Scrutiny, this is all that can be objected against the *History of the Puritans*, it will certainly remain as a lasting Monument of the Spirit and Principles of those Times.



MARGINAL ADDITIONS.

To the first Volume of the
HISTORY of the PURITANS.

The following Marginal References are no Addition to the History, nor Mistakes of the Historian, but are inserted to support the Credit of those Facts, which have been, or may hereafter be disputed: Many of them, as well as of the Corrections, are added, only to silence the Complaints of this Writer.

PAGE 3. in marg. after Wickliffe, r. Lewis's Life of Wickliffe, p. 1, 8, 18, &c.

P. 32. in marg. about the middle, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. III. p. 172.

P. 39. in m. at the top, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. III. p. 164.

P. 47. in m. after Homilies, r. Hist. Ref. V. II. p. 27.

P. 50. in m. after [p. 218.] r. Mem. Cranm. p. 141. Appendix, p. 53.

P. 51. in m. at the top, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. II. p. 42.

P. 53. in m. after [61.] r. 64.

P. 56. in m. about the middle, r. Fuller's Church History, B. VII. p. 402.

P. 64. in m. at the top, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. II. p. 144. Collyer's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 290.

P. 65. in m. after Tables, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. II. p. 150. ibid. Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 160.

P. 66. in m. after [158.] r. Str. Ann. Vol. I. p. 162.

P. 71. in m. after Habits, r. Peirce's Vindic. p. 332, 33.

P. 79. in m. at the bottom, r. Peirce's Vindic. p. 11, 12.

P. 81. in m. after [266.] r. Peirce's Vindic. p. 12, 13.

Benner's Mem. p. 52.

P. 96.

- P. 96. *in m. after burnt*, r. Cran. Mem. p. 347.
P. 103. *in m. after Predestination*, r. Cran. Mem. p. 351, 352, 353. Appendix, p. 83.
P. 122. *in m. after Nation*, r. Str. Ann. Vol. I. p. 2, 51, 175.
P. 123. *in m. at the top*, r. Hist. Ref. Vol. II. p. 376.
Ibid. *in m. after forbid*, r. Str. Ann. Vol. I. App. p. 3. Hist. Ref. V. II. p. 277, 278, 377. Camb. Eliz. p. 6.
Ibid. *in m. after Exiles*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 103, 105.
P. 124. *in m. at the top*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 129.
P. 139. *in m. at the top*, r. Hist. Ref. V. III. p. 390. *ibid. against Heath*, r. Str. Ann. Vol. I. p. 73, 143.
P. 155. *in m. after* [p. 291.] r. L. Parker, p. 46, 310. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 50.
P. 157. *in m. at the top*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 72, 73.
P. 185. *in m. after* [405.] r. L. Parker, p. 149.
P. 186. *in m. towards the top*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 130.
P. 188. *in m. after* [p. 155.] r. Append. p. 40.
P. 189. *in m. after* [p. 157.] r. Append. p. 43.
P. 190. *in m. after Ridley*, r. Str. Ann. V. II. p. 555.
P. 191. *in m. after Martyr*, r. L. Parker, Append. p. 41. Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 554, 555.
P. 192. *in m. after* [294.] r. L. Parker, p. 154.
P. 194. *in m. after Gueft*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. Append. p. 38.
Ibid. *in m. towards the bottom*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 177.
P. 197. *in m. after* [30.] r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 173.
P. 201. *in m. after* [460.] r. Mem. Cran. p. 363. L. Parker, p. 77. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 178, 602.
P. 207. *in m. after Habits*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 459.
P. 209. *in m. after Toleration*, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 451. L. Parker, p. 185.
P. 220. *in m. after* [193.] r. Append. p. 69.
P. 224. *in m. towards the bottom*, r. L. Parker, p. 229.
P. 227. *in m. after* [61.] r. Peirce's Vindic. p. 62.
P. 249. *in m. after Reformation*, r. Str. Ann. Vol. I. p. 553.
P. 261. *in m. after Church*, r. Str. Ann. V. I. p. 623.
P. 262. *in m. after* [628.] r. L. Parker, p. 312.
P. 279.

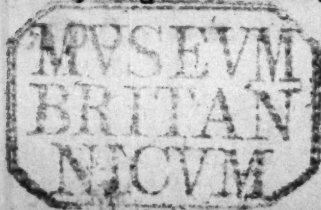
- P. 279. in m. at the top, r. Peirce's Vindic. p. 45, 46.
Athen. Oxon, p. 172.
- P. 280. in m. at the top, r. L. Grindal, p. 166. and
lower, Ann. Ref. Vol. II. p. 95.
- P. 282. in m. after Reformation, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II.
p. 125. D'Ew's Journal, p. 207.
- P. 283. in m. at the top, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 127,
128. and lower, p. 126.
- P. 296. in m. after [53.] r. L. Parker, p. 428.
- P. 304. in m. after Persecution, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II.
p. 260. at the bottom, L. Parker, p. 454.
- P. 305. in m. after [456.] r. 458; and at the bottom,
Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 288.
- P. 307. in m. after [870.] r. L. Parker, p. 454. Ibid.
after Norwich, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 261, 262.
Ibid, after Parker, r. p. 246, 259, 451, 452, 457,
479. See also, L. Parker, p. 336.
- P. 308. in m. after p. 452. r. p. 460, 461, 463. Strype's
Ann. Vol. II. p. 109, 263, 343. and lower, MS. L.
Parker, p. 479.
- P. 326. in m. after Norwich, r. L. Parker, p. 461.
- P. 329. in m. after [462.] r. Str. Ann. Vol. II. p. 323.
- P. 338. in m. at the top, r. L. Parker, p. 352, 353.
354. Append. p. 47. Str. Ann. V. L. p. 622.
- P. 351. in m. after Deering, r. L. Parker, p. 380.
- P. 389. in m. toward the bottom, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II.
p. 532.
- P. 408. in m. below the middle, r. Strype's L. Whit-
gift, p. 4.
- P. 501. in m. after Humphreys, r. Str. Ann. Vol. II.
p. 451. Vol. I. p. 472. and at the bottom, r. L.
Parker, p. 428, 438. Peirce's Vindic. p. 89.
- P. 589. in m. at the top, r. Lord Chancellor King's
Speech at Sir Peter's Trial, fol. 81, 290.

CORRECTIONS

Of the first Volume of the HISTORY of the PURITANS.

PAGE 5. line 6. dele these Words, and after some Time a Controversy arose between the Houses of York and Lancaster, about the Right of Succession in the Crown. p. 50. l. 15. for Nov. 9th. read 4th. Ibid. l. 26. after Jurisdiction, dele *durante beneplacito*, or. p. 51. l. 11. dele, removed into the Courts of Westminster-hall, and tried in the King's Name. p. 64. l. 7. after, the same, r. we were. p. 65. l. 15. for Orders r. Injunctions. p. 70. in marg. for 157. p. 71. in marg. for 1666 r. 157. p. 157. l. 21. dele Year of the Reign. p. 155. l. 31. after deprive him r. the Crucifix and after some Time removed, but replaced at last as the Year 1578 To put some Stop to these Proceedings her Majesty. p. 185. in marg. for 105. r. 405. p. 201. l. 32. after Behaviour dele the inverted Comma's. p. 211. l. 33. r. the best, and some Preachers. p. 225. l. 11. for London r. Puritan Clergy. p. 240. l. 64. for Vestments, r. Ceremonies. p. 242. l. 8. after and r. some; and in the marg. for 315. r. 242. p. 245. in m. for 120. r. 135. p. 280. l. 29. dele which he refused, and was therefore suspended; and r. to which he submitted, and signed a Protestation before the Commissioners at Lambeth, April 23. 1571. Ann. Ref. Vol. II. p. 95. p. 285. l. 11. for Sir Peter r. Peter Wentworth, Esq. Ibid. l. 36. for Sir Peter r. Wentworth. p. 307. l. 30. r. Ludham; and for, to the old Bishop r. by the old Bishop to his Chancellor. p. 308. l. 18, 19. for some r. one; and for were r. was. p. 329. l. — r. Ludham. p. 341. l. 26. after Civil Wars dele what follows, and r. thus, When Oil. Scot, one of the King's Judges having purchased that Palace for a Mansion House, "and doth the Monument, and buried the Bones (says Mr. Strype) in a Franklyn's Dunghill, where they remained till some Tears after the Restoration, when they were decently reposed, near the Place where the Monument had stood, which was now again erected to his Memory." But this single Instance of Inhumanity to the Dead was sufficiently retaliated by the Royalists, at the Restoration, when on the 12th and 14th of September, 1661. the Bodies of Nineteen or Twenty Puritan Divines, and others, many of whom had little or no share in the Civil Wars, were dug out of their Graves in Westminster-Abbey, and thrown together into one common Pit, in St. Margaret's Church-Yard, near the back Door of one of the Prebendaries, by the King's express Warrant to the Dean and Chapter; among which were the Bodies of Dr. Twiss, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines; Mr. Stephen Marshal, Mr. Strong, Preacher in the Abbey Church, and others. p. 359. l. 22. for no other Reason, but r. chiefly. p. 538. for 2d. r. 19th. p. 594. l. 16. dele of Clergy. p. 599. l. 6. after Party r. which have been offensive to the State, though in another Degree, and

The END.



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